IN THE NAME OF GOD ,

THE MERCIFUL AND THE

COMPASSIONATE

TELEGRAMS NO. TEHRAN 2651,2873,3142,2797, STATE 145143.261323 WERE THE LAST COPIES OF THEIR ORIGINAL TEXTS AND, THUS, VERY DULL IN COLOR,THEREFORE THEIR PRINTING AND PHOTOGRAPHING IN BOOKS WERE NOT FAVORABLY POSSIBLE. FOR THIS REASON,THE ABOVE-MENTIONED DOCUMENTS WERE RE-TYPED.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 2587

E.O. 12065: GDS 2/28/79 (SCHELL, BARBARA L.) OR-P
TAGS: PINS IR
SUBJECT: REACTION TO BAZARGAN GOVT.

1. THE EVENING OF FEBRUARY 25, 1979 EMBOFF WAS INVITED TO DINNER AT THE HOME OF ONE OF THE IRANIAN EMPLOYEES OF THE COMMERCIAL SECTION. THE EMPLOYEE IS MARRIED TO A PLAYWRITE AND HAD ALSO INVITED A PAINTER FRIEND AND HER BUSINESSMAN HUSBAND. THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME IMPRESSIONS GARNERED FROM THE EVENING'S CONVERSATION.

2. ALL WERE VERY STRONGLY PRO-BAKHTIAR. ONE ARGUED THAT HE HAD BEEN TOO SLOW IN DEALING WITH MANY OF THE PROBLEMS HE FACED, BUT THE OTHER THREE AGREED THAT HE HAD SUCCEEDED IN PREVENTING A MILITARY COUP WHICH WOULD HAVE LEFT MANY DEAD AND THE SITUATION CONSIDERABLY WORSE THAN IT NOW IS. THEY PARTICULARLY ADMIRED HIS NATIONALISM AND COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY.

3. NONE APPEARED PARTICULARLY CONFIDENT OF THE BAZARGAN GOVERNMENT BECAUSE IT APPEARS TO LACK CONTROL OF THE MANY ELEMENTS NOW AT PLAY ON THE POLITICAL SCENE. THEY WERE APPALLED TO READ THAT BAZARGAN HAD LEARNED OF THE EXECUTION OF FOUR GENERALS FROM THE PRESS, AND WERE UPSET OVER THE GOVERNMENT'S REFUSAL TO RELEASE THE NAMES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE COURT WHICH CONVICTED THE GENERALS. TACTICS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT WERE VIEWED AS BEING NOT MUCH DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF THE ANCIEN REGIME. THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT IS SHOWING THE POTENTIAL TO BE EVERY BIT AS DICTATORIAL AS ITS PREDECESSOR. THE COMMENT WAS MADE THAT AT LEAST BEFORE, THERE WAS AN ILLUSION OF SECURITY IN THE STREETS AND ONE COULD SLEEP AT NIGHT. [illegible] OF GUNS

LOOSE AND THE HANDS IN WHICH THEY FIND THEMSELVES ARE FRIGHTENING.

4. A POSSIBLE COMMUNIST THREAT EXISTS, YET THEY ARE UNSURE AS TO THE DIMENSIONS OF THAT THREAT. KHOMEINI ADVISORS YAZDI, GHOTBZADEH AND BANI SADRE ARE VIEWED AS VILLANIS AND THE FACT THAT SO MANY PEOPLE AROUND KHOMEINI SPENT THE LAST 15 TO 25 YEARS OUTSIDE OF IRAN IS RESENTED BECAUSE THEY ARE OUT OF TOUCH WITH THE CURRENT REALITIES OF THE COUNTRY. THEY ARE BEGINNING TO FEEL THAT PEOPLE LIKE THEMSELVES, BY NO MEANS SUPPORTERS OF THE OLD REGIME, BUT NOT ACTIVE REVOLUTIONARIES EITHER, SHOULD BEGIN TO GET INVOLVED IN AN EFFORT TO HEAD OFF EXCESSES.

5. THE HOST INDICATED THAT MOST NIRT EMPLOYEES ARE STILL ON STRIKE, PARTICULARLY THOSE WHO WORK IN THE TELEVISION SECTION. THE STRIKE CONTINUES BECAUSE OF CONTINUED CENSORSHIP. THE FEELING WAS THAT THE PRESS ALSO WAS CENSORED, DESPITE GOVERNMENT PRONOUNCEMENTS THAT IT IS NOT. GHOTBIN THE FORMER HEAD OF NIRT SEEMS TO BE PLAYING BOTH SIDES IN AN EFFORT TO HAVE HIMSELF REINSTATED IN SOME POSITION OF POWER. HE REPORTEDLY APPEARED AT BOTH LEFTIST AND RELIGIOUS RALLIES.

6. THE KHOMEINI COMMITTEE HAS BEEN RAIDING GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES, INCLUDING THE MAYOR'S OFFICE WHERE A RELATIVE OF ONE OF THE GUESTS WORKS. EMPLOYEES ARE TAKEN AWAY FOR QUESTIONING AS THE COMMITTEE CONTINUES ITS EFFORTS TO ROOT OUT SAVAK PEOPLE.

7. RUMORS DISCUSSED WERE THE FOLLOWING: BAKHTIAR WAS TAKEN IN BY BAZARGAN WHO HAS BEEN HIDING HIM. COMMENT: AS REPORTED SEPTEL, BAKHTIAL IS BELIEVED TO BE IN FRANCE. IT WOULD, HOWEVER, HAVE BEEN DIFFICULT, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM TO HAVE GOTTEN THERE WITHOUT THE ASSISTANCE OF THE CURRENT PRIME MINISTER. END COMMENT. KHOMEINI, DUE TO MOVE TO QOM WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, HAD ASKED SHARIATMADERI TO RETURN TO TABRIZ. SHARIATMADERI REFUSED.

8. THE GENERAL EXPECTATION OF ALL AT THE DINNER WAS THAT A MINIMUM OF ONE TO TWO YEARS WOULD BE NECESSARY BEFORE TH SITUATION BAGAN TO APPPOACH NORMALITY.

9. MANY OF THE VIEWS EXPRESSED DURING THE DINNER WERE ALSO REFLECTED IN AN EDITORIAL WHICH APPEARED IN THE ENGLISH PRESS FEBRUARY 27TH.

SULLIVAN

FT
#2587

CONFIDENTIAL

SECSTATE WASHDC, NIACT IMMEDIATE

LIMDIS

GDS 3/1/85 (SULLIVAN, W.H.) OR-M

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. WHEN I SPOKE WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SANJABI MORNING MARCH 1, HE MENTIONED FACT THAT SHARIAR ROUHANI HAD SPOKEN WITH SECRETARY VANCE. HE WANTED US TO KNOW THAT ROUHANI DID NOT RPT NOT REPRESENT IRANIAN GOVERNMENT. HE SAID HE WAS NICE YOUNG MAN WHO WAS SON-IN-LAW OF YAZDI, BUT HAD NO RPT NO OFFICIAL POSITION. U.S. COULD DEAL WITH HIM "OFFICIEUSEMENT" BUT OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVE WAS CHARGE WHOSE NAME I CAUGHT AS FAGLEH. HE SAID MORE SENIOR REPRESENTATIVE WOULD SOON BE NAMED.

3. I THEN ASKED ABOUT STATUS OF EX-SENATOR ~~ABOUZEH~~ ABOURI[redacted] WHO SAID HE WAS LEGAL COUNSEL OF GOI. SANJABI SAID THEY KNEW THE MAN'S NAME, BUT HE HAD NO RPT NO CONNECTION WITH GOI.

4. COMMENT: AS DEPARTMENT WILL GATHER FROM BAZARGAN'S SPEECH LAST NIGHT, HE AND HIS GOVERNMENT ARE VERY SENSITIVE TO WHAT THEY REGARD AS USURPATIONS OF AUTHORITY BY ALL SORTS OF SELF-APPOINTED IRANIAN "AUTHORITIES." I REALIZE THAT YOUNG ROUHANI MAY APPEAR TO BE HELPFUL, BUT DEPT SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT BAZARGAN GOVERNMENT REGARDS HIS ILK WITH SUSPICION AND RESENTMENT. THIS

GOVERNMENT MAY NOT REPRESENT VERY MUCH AT THIS TIME, BUT, IF WE WISH IT TO PERSEVERE, WE WILL HAVE TO RESPECT ITS INTEGRITY AND AUTHORITY. SULLIVAN

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CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 2651

E.O. 12065: GDS 3/1/79 (TOMSETH, V.L.) OR-P
TAGS: PGOV PINS IR
SUBJECT: CORRUPTION UNDER THE PAHLAVIS

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM POLOFFS STEMPEL AND TOMSETH ON MARCH 1 REGARDING A STATEMENT ATTRIBUTED TO MINISTER OF INFORMATION, TOURISM AND CHARITIES DR. NASSER MINACHI (STRONGLY PROTECT) THAT A $100 MILLION DOLLAR BRIBE HAD BEEN PAID IN CONJUCTION WITH A HELICOPTER DEAL. MINACHI SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD PROOF OF WIDE SCALE CORRUPTION AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE PAHLAVI REGIME, U TO AND INCLUDE THE SHAH'S FAMILY. HE THEN PRODUCED A FILE WHICH HE SAID HAD BEEN DISCOVERED AT THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE AND WAS THE RECORD OF AN INVESTIGATION COND-UCTED SEVERAL YEARS AGO BY THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR. ACC-ORDING TO MINACHI, THE FINDINGS OF THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR HAD BEEN SQUEL CHED UPON THE SHAH'S PERSONAL ORDER. HE THEN READ EXCERPTS FROM THE FILE, MOST OF WHICH CONCERNED THE ACTIVITIES OF ABOL FAHT MAHVI WHO, MANACHI SAID, HAD BEEN GIVEN EXCLUSIVE AGENCY RIGHTS IN A NUMBER OF AREAS RANGING FROM HELICOPTERS TO COMPUTERS. ACCORDING TO THE FILE, MAHVI RECEIVED KICK BACKS ON NUMEROUS DEALS HE AR-RANGED WITH FOREIGN CONTRACTORS-NOT FROM THE CONTRACTORS, BUT FROM THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT ITSELF-WHICH RAN TO TENS OF MILLION DOLLARS. MINACHI INTIMATED THAT MAHVI HAD BEEN FAVORED IN THIS WAY BECAUSE OF HIS ROLE AS BAG MAN FOR NUMEROUS MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY (H CITED REFERENCES TO SEVERAL PAHLAVIS FROM THE FILE TO SUB-STANTIATE THIS) AND AS THE SHAH'S OWN PIMP. MINACHI INDICATED THAT EVERY EFFORT WOULD BE MADE TO BRING THOSE IMPLICATED TO BAR BEFORE REVOLUTIONARY COURTS, BUT THIS MAY

PROVE DIFFICULT SINCE MANY OF THE BIGGEST FISH,INCLUDING MAHVI HIMSELF, HAVE LONG SINCE ABSCONDED.

3. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MINACHI'S FILE IS NOT THE CASE THAT IT MAKES AGAINST THOSE CHARGED WITH CORRUPTION (INDEED, MUCH OF THE MATERIAL WAS HAND-WRITTEN, INDICA-TING THAT IT MIGHT BE NO MORE THAN THE RESULTS OF A PRE-LIMINARY INVESTIGATION), BUT, RATHER, ITS LIKELY PSY-CHOLOGICAL IMPACT ON THE IRANIAN PUBLIC. AS WITH SENATOR JOSEPH MC CARTHY'S LISTS OF COMMUNISTS, THE FILE IS APT TO BE BROADLY ACCEPTED AS INCONTROVERTIBLE EVIDENCE OF CORRUPTION IN HIGH PLACES IN THE PAHLAVI REGIME, AN ACCEPTANCE THAT MAY NOT BE WARRANTED IN SPECIFIC INSTANCES BY ACTUAL FACT. THE SIGNIFICANCE(AND DANGER) FOR US IS THAT MUCH OF THE WHEELING AND DEALING DOCUMENTED IN THE FILE INVOLVED FOREIGN CONCERNS, OFTEN AMERICAN. AS IN THE CASE OF BHI, THOSE CONCERNS AND HENCE THE U.S. MAY BE CAUGHT UP WILL -NILLY IN ACCUSATION AND ACRIMONY IRRESPECTIVE OF GUILT OP INNOCENCE.

SULLIVAN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 2797

LIMDIS

E.O. 12065: XGDS-4 3/8/99 (STEMPEL , J.D.) OR-P
TAGS: PINS PORS PGOV SHUM IR
SUBJ: ILSMAIC REVOLUTION: TURNING SOUR

REF:A, STATE 56452,B.TEHRAN 2785

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: KHOMEINI COMMITTEE HAS ORDERED ALL SENIOR OFFICIALS OF PAST 15 YEARS ARRESTED. ONE SOURCE ESTIMATES THIS COULD BE BETWEEN 16,000 AND 30,000. GOI PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS NOT ACCEPTED IN PROVINCES. SOURCES CLOSE TO COMMITTEE PRISON STRUCTURE SAY EXECUTIONS ARE MUCH MORE NUMEROUS THAN ADMITTED TO AND STRONGLY CRITICIZED U.S. ON HUMAN RIGHTS. REVOLUTIONARY RHETORIC BECOMING MORE PRONOUNCED. KHOMEINI BLAST AT GOVERNMENT OPENS WAY FOR FEDAYEEN (PF) TO OPERATE IN HIS NAME. DISSOLUTION, CHAOS, AND VIOLENCE ARE HALLMARKS OF TODAY'S POLITICS IN IRAN. END SUMMARY.

3. HEDAYAT ESLAMINIA (SEE PREVIOUS REPORTING ON THSI SOURCE) URGENTLY ASKED TO SEE POLOFF STEMPEL MORNING MAR 8. A FORMER MAJLES DEPUTY (1971-75) AND POLITICAL BROKER FOR PAST YEAR. HE SAID TWO OF HIS BEST RELIGIOUS SOURCES HAD CONFIRMED THAT KHOMEINI COMMITTEE DECIDED TWO OR THREE DAYS AGO TO ARREST ALL RPT ALL SENIOR OFFICIALS OF GOVERNMENT FOR PAST 15 YEARS. BAN ON THEIR TRAVEL (REPORTED EARLIER) WAS FIRST STEP, AND COMMITTEES ARE BEGINNING TO FAN OUT TO PICK PEOPLE UP. CLOSE FRIEND OF HIS, A DR. MOUSSAVI, WHO HAD JUST RETURNED FROM QOM, SAID ATMOSPHERE AT COMMITTEE HEADQUARTERS RESEMBLED THAT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY TERROR, ESPECIALLY IN WAKE OF KHOMEINI'S

SPEECK TO THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS MARCH 7 (BEING REPORTED MARCH 8 SITREP) WHICH CALLED GOI "WEAK." ESLAMINIA SAID ARRESTS WOULD HAVE TO TOTAL BETWEEN 16,000 AND 30,000,IF COMMITTEE CARRIES THROUGH ITS INTENTION TO PICK UP SENIOR PROVINCIAL LEADERS AS WELL. ESLAMINA SAID FOUR OF HIS CONTACTS IN PROVINCIAL CAPITALS REPORT GOI-APPOINTED RPOVINCIAL GOVERNORS HAVE BEEN TAKEN INTO CUSTODY BY LOCAL COMMITTEES AND REPLACED WITH LOCAL NOMINEES CHOSEN "BY THE PEOPLE."

4. ESLAMINIA AND ONE OTHER SOURCE CLOSE TO SEVERAL GROUPS OF RELIGIOUS STUDENTS AT TEHRAN UNIVERSITY SAID NUMBER OF EXECUTIONS IS MUCH HIGHER THAN ANNOUNCED, PARTICULARLY IN PROVINCES WHERE OLD SCORES ARE BEING SETTLED. COMMITTEES WILL PICK ONE OR TWO PRINCIPAL OFFENDERS AND GIVE THEIR DEATHS MAXIMUM PUBLICITY, THEN QUIETLY SHOOT " UP TO DOZENS" OF OTHERS (MOSTLY LOWER-LEVEL SAVAKEES ACCORDING TO UNIVERSITY SOURCE). ESLAMINIA AND MOUSSAVI MADE RATHER ACID COMMENTS ON U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY AND LACK OF VISIBLE COMMENT OUT OF WAHINGTON ON SUMMARY EXECUTTIONS AND ARRESTS. ESLAMINIA JOVIALLY ASKED IF DEATH PENALTY FOR SODOMY AND FLOGGING FOR RAPE (BOTH FEATURED IN PRESS IN RECENT DAYS) WERE PART OF U.S. ADMINISTRATION'S HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRAM FOR IRAN. BOTH MEN CONTINUED NOW FAMILIAR LITANY U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY WEAKENED SHAH ONLY TO WIND UP WIHT SOMETHING WORSE) IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION, POLOFF HEARD THAT FORMER SENATOR MRS. MANUCHERIAN LED WOMEN'S DELEGATION TO PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE MAR 7 CALLING ON GOI NOT TO LET WOMEN SLIDE BACK INTO DARK AGES. MEETING WAS HELD ON EVE OF MARCH 8 INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY, AND OCCURRED ABOUT SAME TIME KHOMEINI IN QOM WAS BLASTING " NAKED WOMEN" IN GOVERNMENT AND ORDERING ALL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES TO COVER UP. IN AN ASIDE TO A THIRD PARTY, MANUCHERIAN SAID SHE WAS READY TO LEAD WOMEN'S LAWYERS GROUP INTO DEFACTO ALLIANCE WITH FEDAYEEN RATHER THAN SEE GAINS OF PAST LOST.

5. IN PAST FEW DAYS, GOI FIGURES HAVE SOUNDED INCREASINGLY REVOLUTIONARY. THIS HAS INCLUDED GREATER CRITICISM OF U.S. ROLE IN IRAN THAN FIRST TWO WEEKS OF REVOLUTION PRODUCED. CAPSTONE WAS MAR 7 KHOMEINI BLAST AT HIS OWN GOV-

ERNMENT AS WEAK AND NOT SUFFICIENTLY REVOLUTIONARY. UNIVERSITY GRADUATE STUDENTS WHO MET POLOFF EVENING MAR 7 WERE JUBILANT THAT KHOMEINI ATTACK ON GOI WOULD GIVE UNIVERSITY FEDAYEEN A CHANGE TO ATTACK GOI IN KHOMEINI'S NAME. HOST, AND MIDLEVELGOI OFFICIAL DESCRIBED KHOMEINI ATTACK ON GOI AS " INCREDIBLY STUPID," AND SAID IT WOULD OPEN WAY FOR FEDAYEEN TO BLEND THEMSELVES EVER CLOSER TO REVOLUTION AND TO COOPT TO THEIR REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE SOME OF THE LEFWING MUJAHIDIN WHEN HAVE BEEN MAKING NOISES ALONG SMAE LINES FOR PAST WEEK.

6. BRIEF CALLS TO PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE THIS MORNING FOUND PRINCIPALS OUT AND STAFFS IN DISARRAY. KHOMEINI'S ATTEMPT. MAO-LIKE, TO PERPETUATE THE REVOLUTION BEFORE HE EVEN HAS FULL CONTROL HAS COME PERILOUSLY CLOSE TO UNRAVELLING WHAT REMAINS FAUTHORITY IN IRAN, STIMULATED CHAOS AND: IN THE OPINION OF OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF IRANIAN OBSERVERS, MADE FURTHER VIOLENCE IMPOSSIBLE TO AVOID. IN VIEW OF MANY, MODERATE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT WILL NOT SURVIVE HAMMER BLOWS OF PAST FIVE DAYS, BECAUSE IT IS UNABLE TO EXTEND ITS CONTROL WHILE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES AND ARMED FEDAYEEN ARE MAXING THEIR WRITS FELT ONLY TOO EFFECTIVELY. GOOD EXAMPLE OF THIS OCCURRED WHEN POLOFF MADE SEVEN-MILE TRIP TO ESLAMINIA HOME. ALTHOUGH PASSING UNOPPOSED THROUGH TWO MINI-BLOCKADES, POLOFF SAW THREE CARS WHICH HAD BEEN STOPPED BY SNIPER SHOTS THROUGH WINDSHIELD. OF TWO AT EXPRESSWAY INTER-SECTION WITH MIRDAMAND AVENUE, ONE STILL HAD BODY OF DRIVER SLUMPED OVER WHEEL.

SULLIVAN

BT
#2797

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, D.C. 20520

10/3/79

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL
CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable
L. Bruce Laingen
Charge d'Affaires, a.i.
American Embassy
Tehran

Dear Bruce:

Let me give you the flavor of the lunch Peter and I had this week with Agah and Mansour Farhang.

First, the food: austere even by the standard of Shahryar Rouhani. (But I suppose Ambassador Foroughi might have said the same of the hamburger he had with me on the 8th floor.)

Second, Farhang will be a welcome addition to the public relations department of the Embassy. He is quite articulate, smart, a true believer and a self-confessed civil libertarian. He and Agah suggested that we might be helping the Kurds or pleased that the Soviets were crushing the Afghan rebels (because both super powers oppose the Islamic Revolution). But he is sincere in opposing restrictions on the foreign press and to a lesser degree the Tehran press. He has the academic's inclination to criticize while defending. He said he was asked by Behzardnia to defend the PGOI's actions against the press on TV. Farhang said he agreed to appear, but said "I will attack you, for I strongly disagree with your actions."

Farhang has been in California since the early sixties and I suspect his reluctance to take an official position may have something to do with a green card. His two sons' interest in baseball and his wife's distaste for a land without music may also have played a part in his move here.

Sincerely,

Henry Precht

CONFIDENTIAL
GDS 9/20/85

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CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 2873

E.O. 12965: GDS 3/13/65 (LAMBRAKIS, GEORGE) OR -p
TAGS: PIN, IR
SUBJ: WELFARE AND WHEREABOUTS OF VARIOUS IRANIAN CITIZENS

REF: STATE 057224, STATE 060681

1.C- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. ANTI-AMERICAN FEELING REMAINS A FACTOR TO RECKONED WITH IN IRAN DESPITE THE FRIENDLY SENTIMENTS TOWARD AMERICA EXPRESSED BY MANY GOI OFFICIALS IN PRIVATE. EMBOFFS HAVE FOUND IRANIAN CONTACTS RELUCTANT TO MEET WITH THEM, EXPECIALLY IN PUBLIC. FOR THE PRESENT, THEREFORE, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE FOR THE EMBASSY ACTIVELY TO INVESTIGAGE THE WELFARE AND WHERE ABOUTS OF IRANIAN CITIZENS. IN THE PRESENT CLIMATE OF IRAN, SUCH INQUIRIES WOULD BE MISINTERPRETED BY MANY AND THE INDIVIDUALS CONTACTED MIGHT BE ACCESED OF BEING " CIA AGENTS" OR WORSE . AT SUCH TIME AS THIS SITUATION CHANGES, WE SHOULD BE HAPPY TO ENTERTAIN REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION.

3. TO THE EXTENT EMBOFFS COME BY-INFORMATION IS THE COURSE OF NORMAL ACTIVITY, THEY WILL OF COURSE REPORT IT. AMONG THE INDIVIDUALS MENTIONED IN REFTELS, WE WOULD EXPECT THE ABDULLA AND NASROLLA ENTEZAM WOULD BE REASONABLY SAFE, SINCE THEY ARE VERY ELDERLY, RESPECTED PERSONS WHO HAVE NOT PLAYED ACTIVE ROLES IN THE SHAH'S GOVERNMENT FOR SEVERAL YEARS, LIKE MANY PROMINENT IRANIANS, THEY DO NOT KNOW WHAT TO EXPECT FROM THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN THE FUTURE AND ARE PROBABLY MAKING THEMSELVES AS INCONSPICUOUS AS POSSIBLE. SUCH PEOPLE RARELY ANSWER TELE-PHONES OR EVEN PERMIT OTHERS TO SPEAK OF THEIR WHEREABOUTS.

4. INCIDENTALLY, PROFESSOR JAMES BILL'S REMARKS IN TIME MAGAZINE REGARDING PRO-AMERICAN SENTIMENTS AMONG SENIOR MEMBERS OF CURRENT ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP IS GETTING WIDER COVERAGE IN LOCAL PRESS. UNFORTUNATELY, BILL NAMES YAZDI AND AMIR-ENTEZAM, BOTH PROMINENT IN BAZARGAN GOVERNMENT. IN CURRENT ATMOSPHERE THIS CAN ONLY DO THEM HARM- AND MIGHT RESULT IN THEIR TAKING STEPS TO " PROVE" THEY ARE NOT U.S. "AGENTS". SINCE EMBASSY DEPENDS ON THESE TWO, AMONT OTHERS, FOR A WIDE RANGE OF PRACTICAL ASSISTANCE, THIS INCIDENT ALONE MIGHT HAVE SIGNIFICANT REPERCUSSIONS. IT AGAIN ILLUSTRATES THE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVITY OF PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON IRAN BY ANY PROMINENT AMERICANS, OFFICIAL OR UNOFFICIAL, THE IRANIAN PUBLIC DOES NOT KNOW THE DIFFERENCE.

SULLIVAN

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ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 448 RUEHC
SECDEF WASHINGTON DC IMMEDIATE RUEKJCS

TAGS: PEPR, MASS, IR

E.O. 12065: RDS 3/19/99 (LAMBRAKIS, G.B.) OR-P

SUBJECT: First Meeting with new Defense Minister

1. S - entire text.

2. Summary: During a long, friendly meeting, Embassy and Iranian MOD representatives discussed a whole range of issues affecting military shipments and processes, both past and future.

3. ARMISH-MAAG chief, General Gast, and Pol Counselor Lambrakis met on March 19 for an hour and forty-five minutes with new Minister of National Defense, General Madani and a number of Iranians, including Dr. Taherzadeh who has replaced General Toufanian, and Mr. Etessam, who is about to leave for Washington where he will be charge d'affaires ad interim. General Gast is supplying a detailed account; highlights follow below.

4. After a review of the 21 February Memorandum of Understanding and other issues outstanding, by Gast, Madani responded. He said Iran will abstain from international groupings so that it will not be aligned against anyone. Nevertheless, Iran feels responsibility for guarding secrets confided to it by other countries and will therefore safeguard the highly sophisticated F-14 equipment, various missiles, etc., which Gast had asked be done.

5. Madani asked for maximum information on outstanding

contracts, and Gast gave him copies of the 1947 U.S.-Iranian agreement guiding the status of ARMISH-MAAG, as well as a copy of the MOU with expanded annotations. Madani said the new government will review all the contracts and decide which it wishes to keep. He said GOI would need some American experts in the country and nodded affirmatively when asked whether Gast's request to replace some of the experts still here with more appropriate ones was acceptable.

6. Madani asked if USG would buy back highly sophisticated weapons systems such as F-14 or the AHJ-1 (COBRA) helicopter if GOI decided that it no longer wanted these. Gast said he would look into the matter with Washington. Madani said reimbursement could take the form of spare parts for other systems, for example. Etessam asked about third country transfers and Gast explained USG requirement for specific permission to transfer any equipment from the most sophisticated to the most elementary.

7. Gast explained the urgency in connection with Iranian trust funds for GOI decisions as to cancellation of equipment to be communicated to the USG in writing. Madani indicated GOI had decided to cancel all four cruisers, the second submarine, and the Army Aviation Pilot Training Simulator. He promised something in writing on these issues, as well as on the

1600 students still in the U.S., and other cancellations.

8. There was considerable discussion about the Iran trust fund with Gast explaining that only authorized US officials could draw on it and that its monies could not be spent to pay allowances for the majority of Iranian trainees unless the Iranian MOD specifically authorized such payments. Gast brought out the fact that sizable amounts of spare parts, supplies and equipment had been diverted to warehouses ~~on~~ since 10 February, in connection with the Iranian revolution, and they were costing money until instructions ~~had been~~ are given by the Iranian MOD on their disposition. He noted as an example of other problems some two million dollars claimed by the GOI freight forwarding company (Behring) in New York, which ~~had gotten~~ was in process of getting a court order to prevent further shipment of Air Force supplies to Iran. Madani did not react to Gast's suggestion of a joint MOD-ARMISH-MAAG working group to study these details, but he said another meeting of the present group would be required once all these issues had been studied.

9. Dr. Taherzadeh requested as full an accounting as possible of the use of the Iranian trust funds over past years. He indicated he would like to know who had authorized what payments and for what purposes. Gast indicated this could become a sizable task and a costly one, but said he would see what he could do. He

suggested GOI records exist on many of these transactions and named places where they may still be found.

10. In response to other requests from Gast and Lambrakis, Madani said he would assist by talking to the Prime Minister and the MFA on regularizing procedures for shipping out ARMISH-MAAG household goods, packing and shipping goods, and gaining access to ARMISH-MAAG locations for the purpose of reviewing records of USG equipment and supplies. He asked that we be patient until after the five-day New Year's vacation which commences 21 March. He said he would also assist on the problem of security for the US Embassy compound and official Americans traveling around the city. Ntessam also volunteered that the MFA would help. Madani made no comment on the case involving the Raytheon property in Tehran, but agreed that MFA should be apprised of the question. Finally, he confirmed that Bell Helicopter representatives were waiting in his outer office to talk with himself and his group and, recognizing the Embassy's interest in the problem of security for American citizens in the country, agreed to inform the Embassy if GOI requested personnel or other assistance from Bell Helicopter.

11. Taherzadeh brought up the question of investment in the Tehran American School. Gast said he was not sure but he thought the facilities and most of equipment

in it ~~were~~ paid for and belong to the Iranian government. The same is true of the school in Isfahan. The Embassy Administrative Counselor has been anxious to find some GOI authority to ~~authorize~~ negotiate turning back of these schools to the GOI. The same is true of the US military hospital, which has been closed down as a result of action taken by the guard who was posted at the facility. It too belongs to the Iranian government and should be transferred back in some orderly manner. Gast noted that the people who are now taking possession of it may or may not represent the GOI. Madani agreed all these questions were worth looking into, and that meanwhile the issues should be made known also to the MFA.

12. The meeting broke up with mutual expressions of good will and Madani repeating the need for another meeting. General Gast told the group on a personal basis that judging by his own experience as a pilot and a logistician, he could assure them that the Air Force Iran has is better than many people say and can get itself into ~~good~~ operational posture once it has reformed its command structure.

SULLIVAN

SECRET

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TO USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
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SECRET MAR 79
SUBJ: USMILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR IRAN (U)
REF: JCS/DJS MSG 200805Z MAR 79 (S)

1. (U) OUR COMMENTS MAY BE HELPFUL FOR YOUR RESPONSE TO REFERENCE MSG.

2. (S) THE DEGREE OF SUCCESS THAT PM BAZARGAN (OR ANY SUCCESSOR) MAY ENJOY WILL IN LARGE MEASURE BE THE GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO RECONSTITUTE THE ARMED FORCES. AS REPORTED EARLIER, RECONSTITUTION OF THE ARMED FORCES IS DEPENDENT ON SEVERAL FACTORS, THE MOST IMPORTANT BEING POLITICAL AND THE OTHER, EVEN IF BAZARGAN GETS HIS WAY, ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP IN THE ARMED FORCES. ASSUMING RECONSTITUTION, THE ARMED FORCES ARE GOING TO NEED FOREIGN ADVISORS. HOW MANY AND WHAT KIND OF ADVISOR WILL BE CALLED FOR BY THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE IN OUR VIEW, AND EVOLUTIONARY REALIZATION BY THE IRANIANS OF THE DEGENERATED STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE MILITARY.

3. (S) THE PM, ON 19 MAR, REITERATED HIS DESIRE THAT GEN GAST AND HIS GROUP REMAIN IN IRAN UNTIL THE GOVERN-MENT COMPLETES STUDIES. IN A MEETING WITH ADM MADANI, ON 19 MAR, MADANI TOLD GAST THAT WE SHOULD REMAIN IN PLACE UNTIL THEY DETERMINED WHAT EXPERTS WILL BE REQUIRED .

4. (S) ALTHOUGH WE REPORTED EARLIER THAT ADM MADANI AND GEN GHARANI HAD EACH PUBLICLY STATED THEY CONSIDERED THEIR APPOINTMENTS TEMPORARY UNTIL THE REFERENDUM, MADANI DID NOT LEAVE THAT IMPRESSION WITH US ON 18MAR IN FACT, HE SPOKE IN RATHER LONG-RANGE TERMS.

5. (W) WE WILL NOT KNOW FOR SOME TIME, PERHAPS WEEKS,

WHAT ASSISTANCE THEY WILL WANT FROM THE USG OR PRIVATE CONTRACTORS. BUT AT LEAST THE MEETING YESTERDAY WAS AN EYE-OPENER FOR THEM AND WE BELIEVE IT WAS THE BEGINNING OF A CONTINUING DIALOGUE . OUR PRESENCE HERE AND FURTHER DIALOGUE WILL HELP THEM GAIN AN APPRECIATION OF WHERE THEY ARE AND WHAT IS REQUIRED, AND THE SOONER THE BETTER.

6. (S) WE HAVE TO DATE RECEIVED NO INDICATION THAT THE GOVERNMENT WANTS A CHANGE IN PLAYERS IN THE MAAG DUE TO OUR ASSOCIATION WITH THE FORMER REGIME. THIS MAY BE IN LARGE PART DUE TO THE FACT THAT WE ARE IN CONTACT WITH NEW PLAYERS. WE WOULD AGREE THAT AT THE WORKING LEVEL NEW FACES WILL PROBABLY BE REQUIRED IF AND WHEN THE TIME COMES.

7. (S) WITH REGARD TO THE SIZE AND MAKEUP OF OUR RESIDUAL ORGANIZATION, WE PREFER TO REMAIN AT APPROXIMATELY FORTY ASSIGNED. WE WOULD, HOWEVER, LIKE TO HAVE THE FLEXIBILITY TO GO BELOW OR EVEN ABOVE THAT LEVEL DEPENDING ON OUR WORKLOAD AND SECURITY CONDITION. FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE PERSONNEL REPORTING TO TEHRAN SHOULD BE ON TDY STATUS. WE PLAN TO REQUEST REPLACEMENTS ON A ROTATIONAL BASIS AND IN FACT HAVE ALREADY DONE SO. WE DESIRE THAT CERTAIN PERSONNEL REMAIN UNTIL WE CLOSE OUT SUPPORT FACILITIES, BUT EVEN HERE WE CAN ROTATE SOME PEOPLE DUE TO DEROS OR MORALE AND WELFARE CONSIDERATIONS. WE HAVE BEEN ASSURED THAT WE MAY BRING IN PERSONNEL AS REPLACEMENTS OR AUGMENTATION FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PRUPOSES. THERE SHOULD BE LITTLE DIFFICULTY IN AUGMENTATION WHEN THEY ASK FOR MEETINGS, INFORMATION OR ADVISORY ASSISTANCE. FOR EXAMPLE, IN ORDER TO ASNWER QUESTIONS ASKED YESTERDAY AT THE MEETING WITH MADANI, WE WILL PROBABLY NEED AN EXPERT OR TWO TO BRING IN THE INFORMATION AND WORK WITH US. QUESTIONS RELATED TO FMS CASE FUNDS AND TRUST FUND.

8. (S) WE DO RECOMMEND FARSI LANGUAGE TRAINING FOR FUTURE PCS ASSIGNEES. LACK OF FARSI CAPABILITY IS A DISADVANTAGE WHEN DISCUSSIONS IN FARSI ARE CONDUCTED IN THE ADVISOR'S PRESENCE.

9. (S) WE HAVE BEEN ASSURED BY ADM MADANI THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL HONOR ALL FMS AGREEMENTS TO INCLUDE SPECIFICALLY THIRD COUNTRY TRANSFERS. OUR ABILITY TO MONITOR THE TRANSFER WILL HAVE TO BE BASED ON THEIR WORD THAT THEY PROCESS ALL REQUESTS AND TRANSFER ONLY WHEN THE USG APPROVES.

10. (S) THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE IS REVIEWING FMS AND PROFESSIONAL LEVEL TRAINING IN THE U.S. IT IS TOO EARLY TO SPECULATE WHAT ACTION THEY WILL TAKE, BUT WE RECOMMENDED TO HIM THAT THEY DISENROLL, AS AN ECONOMY MEASURE, THOSE PERSONNEL WHO ARE IN CG-993 TRAINING.

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E.O. 11652:
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FOR: NEA AND VOA/PN (63)

E.O. 12065: N/A

SUBJ: EMBOFFS CALL ON IRANIAN MININFO

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1. THURSDAY, MARCH 29, PRESS ATTACHE AND EMBOFF TOMSETH MET WITH MININFO NASSER MINACHI. DISCUSSION COVERED VOA FARSI BROADCASTS REPORTED VTR AND FILM CENSORSHIP, DRAFT CONSTITUTION AND CLANDESTINE SOVIET BROADCASTS TO IRAN.

2. MINACHI EXPRESSED POSITIVE INTEREST IN VOA FARSI WITH QUESTIONS RE TIME AND FREQUENCY. PRESS ATTACHE SAID WILL KEEP MININFO INFORMED OF INAUGURAL BROADCAST AS WELL AS SCHEDULE. MINACHI HOPED VOA FARSI WILL BE ANOTHER MEANS OF ENLIGHTENING IRANIAN PUBLIC ADDING DISPLEASURE WITH BBC, IE, FACTUAL DISTORTION OF RECENT EVENTS IN GUNBAD-E KAVUS. HIS MINISTRY WILL SOON INAUGURATE ENGLISH LANGUAGE BROADCAST DIRECTED TO U.S.

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A GESTURE OF RECIPROCATION FOR VOA FARSI.

3. ON FILM CENSORSHIP DR. MINACHI STATED NOTION WAS INCORRECT, CREATED WHEN FOREIGN JOURNALISTS REPORTED KHOMEINI'S INJUNCTION ON HIJAB (VEIL). ACCORDING TO MINACHI FOREIGN ACTIVISTS LIKE KATE MILLET WRONGLY INTERPRETED WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND NETWORK PHOTOGS FILMED ONLY THAT ASPECT OF HIJAB CONTROVERSY WITHOUT BALANCING COVERAGE. ~~XX~~ STATED MININFO NEVER CENSORED OR STOPPED NETWORKS FROM SENDING FILM ABROAD, ONLY ASKED THEM TO BE CIRCUMSPECT ABOUT FACTS. TO AVOID MISUNDERSTANDINGS MINACHI SET UP PRESS CENTER IN PARS NEWS AGENCY BUILDING. THIS DONE TO PREVENT ~~XXXXX~~ FOREIGN PRESS FROM BEING DECEIVED BY PROPAGANDISTIC NEWS DISTRIBUTED BY EITHER LEFT OR RIGHT AT INTERCONTINENTAL H HOTEL. PRESS CENTER IS EQUIPPED WITH ~~XXXX~~ TELEXES BUT FOREIGN PRESS UNDER NO PRESSURE TO USE IT OR UNDER ANY DIRECTIVE TO PROVIDE FILM OR VTRS OF DAILY SHOOTING BEFORE OR AFTER SENDING FOOTAGE OUT OF IRAN.

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(Formerly FS-413(H))
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4. MINACHI, NOTED LAWYER AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST WHO WAS PERSONALLY INVOLVED IN DRAFTING NEW CONSTITUTION, MAINTAINED PRESS REPORTS AND DEPUTY MINISTER OF INTERIOR TABATABA'I OMITTED ROLE OF PRIME MINISTER WHO WILL PRESENT CABINET TO PARLIAMENT AND RECEIVE VOTE OF CONFIDENCE. NEW ELEMENT OF "ISLAMIC" CONSTITUTION, SHURAYE E NEGABAN (SUPERVISORY COUNCIL), CONSISTING OF MEMBERS OF SUPREME COURT AND ULAMA WILL OVERSEE ENACTMENT OF LEGISLATION CONSONENT WITH ISLAMIC PRINCIPLES.

5. MININFO SAYS HIS MINISTRY MONITORS CLANDESTINE SOVIET RADIO, NATIONAL, VOICE OF IRAN, BUT CLAIMS PROTESTS ~~X~~ UNFORTUNATELY ~~XXXXXXX~~ OF NO AVAIL DUE TO SOVIET REJECTION OF RESPONSIBILITY. MINACHI HAS SET UP SECTION IN PARS TO COUNTER CLANDESTINE BROADCASTS, PROVIDING FACTS TO IRANIAN PUBLIC AND "CLEAR UP DISTORTIONS DIRECTED AT IRAN AND U.S.".

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LIMDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 4/3/85 (METRINKO, M.) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, IR
SUBJ: ANOTHER POLITICAL PARTY FOR IRAN

SUMMARY: NEWSPAPER PUBLISHER AND BUSINESSMAN ALI IMANI HAS INFORMED EMBOFF THAT FORMATION OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT PARTY OF IRAN WILL BE OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCED IN THE COMING WEEKS. END SUMMARY.

1. ALI IMANI (PROTECT), PUBLISHER AND OWNER OF THE NEW PERSIAN DAILY SHAHAB INFORMED POLOFF ON 2 APRIL THAT THE FORMATION OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT PARTY WOULD BE ANNOUNCED SHORTLY. ACCORDING TO IMANI, MORE THAN 5000 NAMES HAVE ALREADY BEEN GATHERED IN SUPPORT OF SUCH A PARTY, AND THUS THE GROUP WILL BE ABLE TO CLAIM LEGAL STATUS. THE PARTY'S COMPOSITION WILL BE PRIMARILY DRAWN FROM THE MIDDLE AND TECHNICAL CLASSES. PRO-WESTERN IN ORIENTATION, THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT PARTY WILL HAVE A MIDDLE-OF-THE ROAD PLATFORM, "NEITHER COMMUNIST NOR KHOMEINIST." IMANI SAID THE ORIGINAL IDEA FOR SUCH A PARTY SPRANG FROM EX-PRIME MINISTER BAKHTIAR, WITH WHOM IMANI HAD A CLOSE PERSONAL ASSOCIATION. THE BAKHTIAR NAME, HOWEVER, WILL NOT RPT NOT BE DIVULGED AND ANY IMPLIED CONNECTION WILL BE DENIED IN PUBLIC FOR THE TIME BEING (PLEASE PROTECT STRICTLY).

2. THE PARTY EXPECTS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PARLIMENTARY ELECTIONS A FEW MONTHS HENCE AND HOPES TO ELECT AT LEAST A FEW DELEGATES. IMANI HIMSELF PLANS TO RUN FOR ELECTION IF THE PARTY STRUCTURE AND POPULAR SUPPORT CAN BE GEARED BY THAT TIME.

3. IMANI ASKED POLOFF RE POSSIBILITIES OF AMERICAN FINANCIAL AND ADVISORY HELP IN EARLY STAGES OF THE PARTY'S ORGANIZATION. POLOFF REPLIED THAT THE EMBASSY COULD NOT RPT NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN ANY WAY. BESIDES, ANY IMPLIED CONNECTION WITH AMERICAN GOVERNMENT COULD VERY WELL BE DEATH KNELL FOR THE NEW POLITICAL GROUP GIVEN PRESENT POPULAR ANTIPATHY TOWARDS AMERICAN POLICY. IMANI SAID HE UNDERSTOOD PRESENT DIFFICULTIES AND REASONS FOR AMERICAN NONINTERFERENCE, BUT AGAIN STRESSED HOPE THAT MATERIAL AID COULD EVENTUALLY BE FORTHCOMING. EMBOFF EXPRESSED BEST WISHES FOR SUCCESS OF PARTY, BUT AGAIN EMPHASIZED NONINTERFERENCE POLICY.

4. BIOGRAPHIC DATA: ALI IMANI WAS BORN IN TEHRAN IN 1921, AND HAS AN ETHNIC SHAHSAVAND TURKIC TRIBAL BACKGROUND. HE HAS HELD A NUMBER OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT POSTS SINCE 1946, AND MOST RECENTLY WAS ON THE TEHRAN TOWNSHIP COUNCIL. A MEMBER OF THE NOW DEFUNCT IRAN-NOVIN PARTY, IMANI IS ALSO A SUCCESSFUL BUSINESSMAN. IN THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS HE HAS OWNED SEVERAL TEHRAN HOTELS, ALL BUT ONE OF WHICH HE HAS SOLD IN ORDER TO CONCENTRATE ON HIS CHAIN OF IMPORT-EXPORT AND TRAVEL AGENCIES. IMANI HAS TWO SUCH AGENCIES IN TEHRAN AND ONE IN GERMANY, WITH WELL-DEVELOPED PLANS AND PROPERTY FOR EXPANSION IN LONDON. IN MORE RECENT MONTHS, AND WITH BAKHTIAR'S ENCOURAGEMENT, HE CLAIMS, HE HAS PURCHASED A PRINTING SHOP IN TEHRAN AND HAS BEGUN TO PUBLISH THE SHAHAB DAILY NEWSPAPER.

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CHG:CWNAAS
CHG:CWNAAS
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AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
SECSTATE WASHDC, PRIORITY

E.O. 12065: GDS 4/23/85 (NAAS, C.W.) OR-M
TAGS: PEPR, PINS, PFOR, IR
SUBJ: DIVISIONS WITHIN THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT, THIS IS A REPORTING TELEGRAM.)

2. A NON-IRANIAN WHO HAS LIVED IN IRAN SEVERAL YEARS AND SPEAKS FLUENT FARSI RECENTLY HAD OVER AN HOUR PRIVATELY WITH SHARIATMADERI. THE LATTER STATED VERY CANDIDLY THAT HE WAS HIGHLY DISAPPOINTED BY THE ACTIVITIES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COURTS. HE HOPES THAT THE WESTERN WORLD WILL NOT INTERPRET THESE ACTIONS AS THE REAL ESSENCE OF ISLAM. IN HIS VIEW THE REVOLUTIONARY COURTS WERE ILLEGAL AND UN-ISLAMIC AND HE, THEREFORE, WAS NOT PARTICIPATING IN THE ACTIONS OF THE COURT NOR WAS HE PLAYING ANY ROLE IN THE GOVERNMENT.

3. IRAN TODAY, HE CONTINUED, IS NOT OPERATING ON THE BASIS OF THOUGHT BUT RATHER ON FEEL; THE CURRENT ANTI-AMERICAN SENTIMENT WAS AN EXAMPLE OF THIS. HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT ACCEPT THE PRESENT WIDESPREAD ANTI-AMERICANISM AS REPRESENTING THE GENUINE FEELING OF IRAN. HE CAREFULLY NOTED THAT AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI'S STATEMENTS WERE TO A LARGE DEGREE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ANTI-AMERICAN ATTITUDE. WHEN THE IRANIAN PEOPLE COME TO THEIR SENSES, THEY WILL WANT CLOSE U.S.-IRAN FRIENDSHIP TO CONTINUE, ALTHOUGH THE RELATIONSHIP WILL BE DIFFERENT THAN IT WAS IN THE PAST. HE SAID THAT AMERICANS COULD HELP THEMSELVES IN THIS DIFFICULT PERIOD BY EMPHASIZING THAT THE ARMS PURCHASED BY IRAN WERE NOT FORCED ON IRAN; THE U.S. WAS ONLY RESPONDING TO THE REQUEST OF A SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENT. HE ADDED THAT WE SHOULD CAREFULLY LOOK FOR GESTURES WHICH COULD BE MADE TO STRENGTHEN AMERICA'S FRIENDS IN THE

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COUNTRY AND TO COUNTERACT THE PROPAGANDA. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT SHOULD GENERATE, HE THOUGHT, SOME POSITIVE PUBLICITY ABOUT CURRENT U.S. ATTITUDES TOWARD IRAN.

4. ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT HE SAID THAT THE MASS OF PEOPLE WAS VERY UNHAPPY WITH THE WAY THE REVOLUTION HAD GONE AND THIS DISCONTENT WAS WIDESPREAD. HE FEARED THAT THE LEFT WILL BE ABLE TO CAPITALIZE ON THE STATE OF MIND OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLE.

5. OUR SOURCE, FOR WHOM THIS WAS A FIRST MEETING WITH SHARIATMADERI, WAS DEEPLY IMPRESSED BY THE AYATOLLAH'S SERENITY, ALERTNESS AND QUICK WIT. AT NO POINT DID HE DIRECTLY ATTACK KHOMEINI BUT CAREFULLY MADE IT PERFECTLY CLEAR THAT HE HAS LITTLE SYMPATHY FOR HIM.

6. OUR SOURCE ALSO ADDED THE FOLLOWING PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS BASED ON HIS TIES TO THE SHARIATMADERI CAMP. HE BELIEVED THAT AYATOLLAHS MARASCHI AND GOLPAYEGANI WERE PARTICULARLY CLOSE TO SHARIATMADERI. THE RUMOR IN QOM WAS THAT AT ONE POINT SHARIATMADERI HAD THREATENED TO MOVE TO TABRIZ BUT KHOMEINI HAD ORDERED HIM TO SAY IN QOM OR GO TO NAJJAF. ACCORDING TO INFORMATION PICKED UP IN QOM AND TEHRAN, WHEN THE SON OF KHOMEINI AND GOLPAYEGANI CALLED ON SHARIATMADERI LAST WEEK, A PROPOSAL FROM KHOMEINI WAS MADE THAT A SHORA (ASSEMBLY) OF LEADING AYATOLLAHS BE ESTABLISHED. THIS PROPOSAL WAS INTERPRETED AS A FURTHER SIGN OF WEAKNESS OF KHOMEINI AND SHARIATMADERI REJECTED ANY PARTICIPATION IN THE ASSEMBLY.

7. MOST OF THE IRANIANS WITH WHOM OUR SOURCE IS IN TOUCH BELIEVED THAT TALEGHANI LOST GROUND AND SOME OF HIS STATUS BECAUSE OF HIS RECENT TRIP TO QOM TO SEE KHOMEINI, FOLLOWING THE BRIEF DISAPPEARANCE OF TALEGHANI FROM TEHRAN AT THE TIME OF THE ABDUCTION OF HIS TWO SONS. THE STATEMENTS MADE BY TALEGHANI AND KHOMEINI FOLLOWING THE MEETING INDICATED THAT TALEGHANI HAD NOT MADE MUCH HEADWAY. AT THE SAME TIME, MOST SOURCES BELIEVE THAT THE RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE TWO AYATOLLAHS IS SUPERFICIAL AND THAT A SPLIT WILL REAPPEAR BEFORE LONG. NAAS##

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CHG:CWNAAS
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AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
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E.O. 12065: XGDS-1 (4/29/09) STEMPEL, J.D. OR-P
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, IR, PORS
SUBJ: MEETING WITH INFORMATION MINISTER MINATCHI

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT) THIS IS A REPORTING CABLE.

2. SUMMARY: MINATCHI RECEIVED AMERICANS WITH WARMTH AND APPRECIATION FOR CHARGE'S MESSAGE. MINATCHI WAS CONCERNED ABOUT QUOTE CAMPAIGN UNQUOTE AGAINST IRAN IN U.S. MEDIA. HE SAID IRAN WANTED TO CONTINUE TIES WITH U.S. AND USG SHOULD DISREGARD MUCH OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA. MINATCHI MONITORS VOA PERSIAN SERVICE AND FOUND IT EXCELLENT. COMMUNISTS ARE NOT A THREAT TO IRAN; MORE DANGEROUS ARE EX-SAVAKEES WHO ARE ATTACKING REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS. DESPITE PROBLEMS GOI WILL MAKE IT. MINATCHI SUGGESTED THREE TIMES THAT HE ARRANGE MEETING FOR CHARGE WITH BAZARGAN AND LATER WITH KHOMEINI. END SUMMARY.

3. CHARGE, PAO SHELLENBERGER, AND ACTING POL CHIEF STEMPEL CALLED ON MININFO DR. NASSER MINATCHI APRIL 29 AS PART OF CHARGE'S CONTINUING ROUND OF CALLS. CHARGE OPENED DISCUSSION BY INDICATING U.S. WANTS FREE, PROSPEROUS IRAN AND IS WILLING TO WORK WITH PGOI AT PACE IT DESIRES. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN FOR INTENSE BARRAGE OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA IN RECENT DAYS AND WEEKS AND FLATLY STATED USG IS NOT RPT NOT INTERVENING IN IRAN. CHARGE SUGGESTED THAT MININFO AND HIS COLLEAGUES MIGHT BE HELPFUL IN GETTING THAT MESSAGE ACROSS TO AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI. CHARGE URGED FRANK DISCUSSIONS TO KEEP INEVITABLE IRRITANTS FROM BECOMING PROBLEMS.

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4. MINATCHI RESPONDED IN VERY FRIENDLY AND WARM MANNER, NOTING PRESS IS FREE IN IRAN, AND MANY ARE MERELY MOUTHING SLOGANS. BAZARGAN CABINET, QUOTE AYATOLLAH'S GOVERNMENT UNQUOTE WANTS TO KEEP TIES WITH U.S. HE SUGGESTED CHARGE ALLOW HIM TO ARRANGE MEETING WITH BAZARGAN AND LATER WITH KHOMEINI. CHARGE SAID HE HAD INTENDED TO MEET WITH BAZARGAN AFTER SEEING SEVERAL MINISTERS, BUT MADE NO COMMENT ON KHOMEINI MEETING. MINATCHI REPEATED OFFER TWO MORE TIMES DURING COURSE OF MEETING AND CHARGE REPLIED SIMILARLY (SEE COMMENT, PARA 9 BELOW).

5. MININFO SAID USG SHOULD DISREGARD COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA. PAST U.S. TIES WITH THE SHAH LED TO SUSPICIONS, BUT EVERYTHING IS WIPED CLEAN NOW. SITUATION IN IRAN WOULD BE IMPROVING IN NEXT ONE TO TWO MONTHS. U.S. RELATIONS WITH ISLAMIC MOVEMENT AT SENIOR LEVELS HAD BEEN GOOD AND UNDERSTANDING (HERE HE NODDED TOWARD ACTING POL CHIEF, WHO HAD MET WITH MINATCHI ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS BEFORE AND DURING CRITICAL DAYS OF REVOLUTION). U.S. UNDERSTANDING IN PAST MADE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND, MINATCHI SAID, QUOTE PRESS CAMPAIGN UNQUOTE AGAINST NEW GOVERNMENT BY AMERICAN MEDIA. ALLUDING TO U.S. CRITICISM OF TRIALS MINATCHI SAID PGOI WAS READY TO PRODUCE EVIDENCE, BUT IN MANY CASES REVOLUTIONARY COURT WITNESSES DID NOT WANT TESTIMONY ON RAPE AND ABUSE PARADED IN PUBLIC. CHARGE REPLIED THAT EXECUTIONS WERE A SHOCK TO MANY, EXPECIALLY SUPPORTERS OF IRANIAN REVOLUTION'S INSISTENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT THAT THERE WAS NO MEDIA CAMPAIGN AGAINST IRAN. ACTING POL CHIEF REFERRED TO PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS WITH MINATCHI ON PROBLEMS OF EVIDENCE AND INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS OF FAIR TRIAL. MINATCHI REPLIED THAT MINJUSTICE WOULD BE MAKING MORE MATERIAL AVAILABLE IN FUTURE. HE ALSO SAID ONLY 70-80 HAD BEEN EXECUTED. OUR COUNT IS 167. AMERICANS PRESSED FOR CONTINUATION OF NEWLY-OPENED FOREIGN PRESS CENTER, AND MINATCHI SAID IT WOULD CONTINUE. (HIS DEPUTY, A PARTICULARLY NASTY REVOLUTIONARY NAMED BEZARHIN, HAD HINTED TO FOREIGN PRESS IT MIGHT BE CLOSED.)

6. MINATCHI SAID COMMUNISTS COULD NOT POSSIBLY SERIOUSLY THREATEN ISLAMIC REVOLUTION, SINCE THEY WERE SO FEW. THEY HAVE A GOOD ORGANIZATION IN SOME CITIES AND IN SOME MINORITY COMMUNITIES, BUT MASS SUPPORT FOR KHOMEINI WOULD KEEP THEM UNDER CONTROL. MINATCHI THEN WENT INTO DISCUSSION OF CORRUPTION AND BRUTALITY IN OLD REGIME, AND

DEFENDED REVOLUTIONARY DECISION TO EXECUTE A FEW TO KEEP MOB VIOLENCE DOWN. HE ACKNOWLEDGED SOME DEFICIENCIES IN REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE, AND INTIMATED THAT REVOLUTIONARY COURTS WOULD BE CLOSING UP. HE BORE DOWN ON COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY OF MINISTERS UNDER ART. 61 OF QUOTE SHAH'S CONSTITUTION UNQUOTE AS JUSTIFICATION FOR SOME EXECUTIONS. HE SAID PGOI HAD FACED VERY DIFFICULT PROBLEMS WHEN IT CAME TO POWER, BUT WAS SLOWLY WORKING THINGS OUT. HE URGED HIS AMERICAN AUDIENCE OF THREE TO BE PATIENT; DESPITE ATTEMPTS OF OLD REGIME AND SHAH IN PARTICULAR TO BANKRUPT THE NEW, PGOI WOULD GET THE COUNTRY MOVING. HE RECITED NUMBERS OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS WHICH SHAH HAD QUOTE MORTGAGED UNQUOTE SENDING FUNDS TO ACCOUNTS IN SWITZERLAND. QUOTE THIS BUILDING WAS MORTGAGED EVEN UNQUOTE HE SAID QUOTE FOR 35 MILLION DOLLARS. UNQUOTE

7. SOME THREATS REMAIN -- GROUPS HE DESCRIBED AS EX-SAVAKEES HAVE BEEN ATTACKING REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS EACH NIGHT AND KILLING SOME. (NOTE: THIS IS FIRST AUTHORITATIVE ADMISSION BY SENIOR PGOI OFFICIAL THAT THIS IS HAPPENING, AND WAS OBVIOUSLY NOT FOR PUBLICATION.) MINATCHI POINTED TO SWIFT WAY KHOMEINI COMMITTEE IN ABADAN HAD ROUNDED UP AND ARRESTED 40 MARXIST FEDAYEN ABOUT FIVE DAYS EARLIER WHEN THEY BEGAN TO CAUSE TROUBLE.

8. IN REPLY TO COMMENT BY PAO ON VOA PERSIAN SERVICE, MINATCHI IMMEDIATELY SAID HE WAS VERY PLEASED WITH IT, THAT MINISTRY MONITORED IT REGULARLY, AND HE FOUND IT FACTUALLY EXCELLENT AND A MOST IMPORTANT BROADCAST. (HE DID LET POSITIVE COMPARISON WITH BBC REMAIN UNSAID, BUT HE HAS NEVER BEEN AS IN LOVE WITH BBC AS SOME OF HIS COLLAEGUES.)

9. COMMENT: MINATCHI IS ALWAYS AN OPTIMIST, BUT HE WAS CONFIDENT IN WHAT HE SAID. WAY HE KEPT RETURNING TO VISIT BY CHARGE UPON PRIME MINISTER AND KHOMEINI SUGGESTS TIME HAS COME FOR BAZARGAN VISIT; SEPTEL WILL TREAT OFFER OF KHOMEINI VISIT. MINATCHI APPEARS IN GOOD HEALTH AND IN BETTER COMMAND OF HIS NEW JOB THAN WHEN POLOFFS VISITED HIM IN EARLY MARCH. CLEARLY POWER AGREES WITH THE DR. NAAS##

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DRFTR: E/C:CDTAYLO
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E.O. 12065 RDS 5/18/89 (TAYLOR, CLYDE D.) OR-E
TAGS: EFIN, FINR, IR
SUBJ: CENTRAL BANK GOVERNOR MOHAMMAD ALI MOWLAVI AND - ABOL HASSAN BANI-SADR

REF: A. TEHRAN 1885, B. TEHRAN 2925, C. TEHRAN 3890

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: A HIGHLY RELIABLE SOURCE, CLOSE TO CENTRAL BANK OF IRAN (CBI) GOVERNOR MOHAMMAD ALI MOWLAVI, REPORTS THAT MOWLAVI IS A POLICY PRISONER OF ABOLHASSAN BANI-SADR, HAS NO SUPPORT FROM KHOMEINI AND IS DEPENDENT POLITICALLY SOLELY ON AYATOLLAH SHARIAT MADERI. BANI-SADR, CONSIDERED A RADICAL ECONOMIST AND A FOOL BY MANY, IS NONETHELESS FEARED TO HAVE REASONABLE PROSPECTS FOR A HIGH ECONOMIC POSITION IN A FUTURE GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY

3. MOWLAVI, SHORTLY AFTER HIS APPOINTMENT, REPORTEDLY VISITED KHOMEINI AND EXPRESSED HIS VIEWS ON BANKING, WHICH IN ESSENCE ARE MODERN. KHOMEINI WAS FURIOUS. IN EARLY MARCH, ABOLHASAN BANI-SADR, THE ONLY SELF-IDENTIFIED ECONOMIC SPOKESMAN FOR KHOMEINI IN THE PRE-COUP DAYS AND STILL GADFLY EXPONENT OF REVOLUTIONARY ECONOMIC DOGMA (REF A), AND AKBAR HASHEMI RAFSANJANI, A MULLAH, WERE APPOINTED TO THE "NOTE-RESERVE CONTROL BOARD" OF THE CBI, REPLACING TWO MAJLIS DEPUTIES. AT THE TIME, WE REPORTED LITTLE SIGNIFICANCE TO THIS, SINCE THE BOARD HAS LITTLE POLICY INFLUENCE AND EVEN LESS CHARACTER AS A PLATFORM FOR PUBLIC INFLUENCE. OUR SOURCE SAYS THAT BANI-SADR AND THE MULLAH, OFFICED IN ADJACENT ROOMS TO THE GOVERNOR, NOW CONTROL HIM: HE DOES NOTHING OF CONSEQUENCE WITHOUT THEIR APPROVAL. MOWLAVI OWES HIS VERY CONTINUATION IN OFFICE TO HIS CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH AYATOLLAH SHARIAT MADERI.

4. BANI-SADR INITIALLY ESPOUSED LITTLE PROXIMATE TO TEXT-BOOK ECONOMICS AND HIS VIEWS WERE CONSIDERED BY ECONOMISTS, EVEN THOSE COMMITTED TO THE REVOLUTION (REF A), AS A RECEIPE FOR ECONOMIC DISASTER--REPUDIATION OF ALL EXTERNAL DEBT, BANK NATIONALIZATION, NO-INTEREST BANKING, TERMINATION OF FOREIGN INFLUENCE IN BANKING, OTHER SERVICES AND EDUCATION AND LIMITATION OF OIL PRODUCTION TO 40 PERCENT OF PREVIOUS LEVELS. PERHAPS IT WAS PRESENCE AND INTER-ACTION WITH GROUPS IN TEHRAN THAT RESULTED IN SOME MODIFICATION IN HIS VIEWS IN A MARCH 13 SPEECH AT THE CBI, ENTITLED "THE BANKING SYSTEM IN AN ISLAMIC REPUBLIC." WHILE ESPOUSING THE NEED FOR CHANGE, HE CAUTIONED AGAINST RADICAL, FAST CHANGE. ON INTEREST RATES, HE SAID THAT ABOLISHING THEM WOULD MERELY MAKE THE BAZAARIS RICHER AND WOULD ONLY AGGRAVATE THE ECONOMY UNDER EXISTING CONDITIONS. "NATIONAL-

IZATION OF BANKS WOULD NOT ACCOMPLISH ANYTHING. HE STILL BLISTERED WESTERN INFLUENCE, ESPECIALLY IN BANKING AND ATTACKED SPECIFICALLY THE IMDBI (DEVELOPMENT BANK) AS THE POLICY MAKER AND EXECUTOR OF THE BANKRUPT INDUSTRIALIZATION POLICY (NOT A TOTALLY UNFAIR VIEW). HE CHARACTERIZED IRAN'S BANKING IN FIVE WAYS: (1) HIGH INTEREST RATES, (2) SCARCITY OF FUNDS, ESPECIALLY TO THE POOR, (3) INADEQUATELY REGULATED BY CBI, WHICH CONSISTENTLY HAD A BANKRUPT MONETARY POLICY, (4) BY NON-REPAYMENT AND ROLL-OVERS, AND (5) UNDER FOREIGN BANK INFLUENCE.

5. BANI-SADR CONTINUES TO GIVE SPEECHES (ALTHOUGH LESS THAN THE ONE OR MORE A DAY IN THE FIRST POST-COUP MONTH) AND WRITE IN THE PRESS. OUR CONTACTS ADMITTEDLY PROVIDE A BIAS, BUT ALL CONSIDER HIM A FOOL. ON THE OTHER HAND, MOST FORECAST A GROWING INFLUENCE BY HIM IN THE ECONOMIC ARENA WITH THE POST OF MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS IN A FUTURE GOVERNMENT MOST MENTIONED. UNTIL THIS INFORMATION CONCERNING A RATHER FULLTIME JOB AT THE CBI, WE HAD ATTRIBUTED HIS RELATIVELY LOWER PROFILE AS A DEMISE IN ECONOMIC INFLUENCE AND ACTIVITY, AN APPARENTLY MISTAKEN CONCLUSION.

6. BIOGRAPHIC: ABOLHASSAN BANI-SADR HAD BEEN OUTSIDE IRAN FOR AT LEAST THE 15 YEARS PRIOR TO KHOMEINI'S RETURN. TO BEST KNOWLEDGE HE WAS A STUDENT AND RESEARCHER IN ECONOMICS IN FRANCE. HE STATES THAT HE LEFT IRAN BECAUSE ITS CENSORSHIP MADE ACADEMIC WORK IMPOSSIBLE. HE REPORTEDLY WAS ONE OF KHOMEINI'S HOSTS IN FRANCE AND RETURNED TO IRAN WITH HIM. A SENIOR IRANIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL EXPRESSED TO EMBOFF IN JANUARY HIS SURPRISE TO SEE BANI-SADR IN THE KHOMEINI CAMP. HE RECALLED HIM WELL AS A COLLEAGUE AT THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN TEHRAN AND AS A DEDICATED NATIONAL FRONT ACTIVIST, NOT DEEPLY RELIGIOUS OR RADICALLY LEFTIST. NAAS
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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1616
INFO RUQMBI/AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI PRIORITY 0077
RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY 0085
RUEHAD/USINT BAGHDAD PRIORITY 0089
RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY 0093
RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY 0077
RUQMDR/AMCONSUL DHAHRAN IMMEDIATE 0062
RUQMOD/AMEMBASSY DOHA PRIORITY 0064
RUFRFT/AMCONSUL FRANKFURT PRIORITY 0182
RUEHLD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD PRIORITY 0102
RUQMJA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA PRIORITY 0093
RUSBLK/AMEMBASSY KABUL PRIORITY 0115
RUQMKM/AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM PRIORITY 0051
RUQMKW/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT PRIORITY 0077
RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0136
RUQMAM/AMEMBASSY MANAMA PRIORITY 0065
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY 0099
RUSDAE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI PRIORITY 0082
RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 0112
RUMJPG/AMEMBASSY BEIJING PRIORITY 0057
RUDKBT/AMEMBASSY RABAT PRIORITY 0067
RUSBKR/AMCONSUL KARACHI PRIORITY 0213
RUQMYA/USLO RIYADH IMMEDIATE 0058
RUFHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY 0082
RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY 0067
RUSNAAA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY
RUHQHQA/CINCPAC HONOLULU HI PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 TEHRAN 05378

CLASS: CONFIDENT
CHRGE: STATE 5/2
APPRV: CHARGE:CW
DRFTD: POL:JDST
CLEAR: POL:VTOMS
NGARR
RSO:JBERM
DISTR: CHG POL-3
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KARACHI FOR RSS AND RMO
DEPT FOR A/SY/FO (PASS TO MSG BN QUANTICO, VA); A/SY/DASS (ACKERMAN); A/SY/CC/TAG

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/23/85 (STEMPEL, JOHN D.) OR-P
TAGS: PORS, ASEC, PGOV, IR
SUBJECT: SCHEDULED ANTI-AMERICAN DEMONSTRATIONS

REF: (A) TEHRAN 5301 (NOTAL

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY: ROUTES FOR DEMONSTRATIONS BOTH MAY 24 AND 25 PUBLISHED IN LOCAL PAPERS. MAY 25 PARADES PROJECTED TO END UP AT EMBASSY. MEDIA OUTPUT HAS BECOME MORE HOSTILE TO U.S. THROUGH MORNING MAY 23. OUR ASSESSMENT IS THAT PGOI DOES NOT WANT VIOLENCE, BUT WISHES TO MAKE POINT ABOUT ALLEGED U.S. INTERFERENCE IN IRANIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENT INCIDENTS LEADING TO ATTACK ON EMBASSY REMAINS SUBSTANTIAL. ADDITIONAL SECURITY PRECAUTIONS BEING UNDERTAKEN. END SUMMARY.

3. MEDIA MORNING MAY 23 ANNOUNCED ROUTES FOR PROTEST

MARCHES BY GROUPS OPPOSING U.S. SENATE RESOLUTION ON IRAN BOTH MAY 24 AND MAY 25. NATURE OF ANNOUNCEMENTS IS SUCH THAT THERE IS NO RPT NO DOUBT PGOI HAS, AT MINIMUM, ACQUIESCED IN DECISIONS BY GROUPS FROM ALL ACROSS POLITICAL SPECTRUM TO HAVE AT THE YANKS AGAIN. MAY 24 DEMONSTRATIONS SCHEDULED TO BEGIN AT FOUR LOCATIONS NORTH AND SOUTH OF EMBASSY AT 4:00 P.M. AND MARCH TO 17 SHAHRIVAR SQUARE (OLD 25 SHAHRIVAR SQUARE AT INTERSECTION OF KARIM-KHAN-E-ZAND AND ROOSEVELT, ABOUT SIX BLOCKS NORTH OF EMBASSY). TWO ROUTES, INCLUDING ONE FROM TEHRAN UNIVERSITY, GO PAST EMBASSY ON TAKHTE-JAMSHID AND ROOSEVELT. WE EXPECT CROWDS TO PASS EMBASSY BETWEEN 5-6 P.M. MAY 24 MARCHES CALLED FOR BY ISLAMIC MUJAHEDIN AND ISLAMIC REPUBLICAN PARTY (KHOMEINI ORGANIZATION).

4. MAY 25 PARADES WILL START AT JALEH SQUARE AND AT 24 ESFAND SQUARE NEAR TEHRAN UNIVERSITY AT 8:00 A.M. BOTH LINES OF MARCH CONVERGE ON THE EMBASSY; INDIVIDUALS WILL PROBABLY BEGIN ARRIVING HERE ABOUT 10 A.M. RUMOR MILL HAS PRODUCED CONCERN AMONG OUR LOCAL EMPLOYEES FOR MAY 25 MARCH, BUT NOT FOR MAY 24 MARCH. SINCE MAY 24 MARCH WILL END UP NORTH OF EMBASSY AND NOT AT EMBASSY, WILL TAKE PLACE AFTER WORKING HOURS, AND IS BEING LED BY GROUPS WHO SUPPORT PGOI, IT APPEARS THIS EFFORT POSES LESS THREAT THAN FRIDAY MARCH, WHICH IS OMNIBUS EFFORT AND IS AIMED DIRECTLY AT EMBASSY. WE BELIEVE PGOI WANTS TO KEEP BOTH DAYS' MARCHES PEACEFUL AS A WAY OF MAKING ITS POINT ABOUT ALLEGED U.S. "INTERVENTION" IN IRANIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS WHILE DOING MINIMAL HARM TO SUBSTANCE OF U.S.-IRANIAN RELATIONS. PROBLEM IS THAT VIRTUALLY ALL GROUPS IN POLITICAL SPECTRUM ARE PARTICIPATING IN MAY 25 MARCH, INCLUDING PROBABLY PALESTINIANS (PAPERS MAKE POINT THAT ONE PARADE ROUTE THAT DAY GOES DIRECTLY PAST OLD EMBASSY IN OLD ISRAELI TRADE MISSION BUILDING) AND MARXIST FEDAYAN WHO MAY BE EAGER TO STIR UP TROUBLE. ONE OTHER DISQUIETING NOTE IS THAT ON OTHER OCCASIONS SENIOR RELIGIOUS LEADERS HAVE CALLED UPON MARCHERS TO BE PEACEFUL. UP TO NOON MAY 23, NO AYATOLLAH HAD AS YET ISSUED SUCH A STATEMENT REGARDING MAY 24-25 EFFORTS. SITUATION WILL BE FAIRLY VOLATILE, AND ANY STRAY BIT OF RANDOM VIOLENCE COULD BE PLAYED UP BY COMMITTED ANTI-U.S. ELEMENTS TO SPARK SOME KIND OF ATTACK ON EMBASSY. POLOFFS ARE MAKING POINT TO THEIR RELIGIOUS CONTACTS THAT STATEMENT FROM RELIGIOUS LEADERS CALLING UPON MARCHERS TO BE PEACEFUL WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL.

5. ON THE OTHER HAND, ASIDE FROM GENERATED FRICTION OVER JAVITS' RESOLUTION, TEHRAN IS NOT PARTICULARLY TENSE AT THE MOMENT. FOR EXAMPLE, MORNING MAY 23, CONSULAR OFFICER WHO WAS AT GATE AJUDICATING VISA MATTER, OVERHEARD TWO SELF-IDENTIFIED STUDENT LEADERS OF MAY 24 MARCH APPROACH LEADER OF EMBASSY'S MUJAHEDIN GUARDS, MASHALLAH KASHANI, TO INFORM HIM THAT THEIR LOUDSPEAKER BATTERIES WERE FAILING AND REPLACEMENTS WEREN'T TO BE HAD. PAIR THEN ASKED IF IT WOULD BE O.K. TO HOOK THEIR LOUDSPEAKERS TO EMBASSY POWER. KASHANI'S ANSWER WAS LOST TO RECORDED HISTORY.

6. ON SECURITY SIDE, EMBASSY WILL KEEP MINIMUM NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN COMPOUND MAY 24 FROM 3 P.M. ONWARDS. ON FRIDAY, BULK OF OFFICIAL COMMUNITY (EXCEPT SECURITY, COMMO AND COMMAND GROUPS) WHICH IS HOUSED NEAR CHANCERY WILL BE ATTENDING ALL-DAY BRITISH-U.S. EMBASSY TENNIS TOURNAMENT AT BRITISH GHOLHAK COMPOUND IN NORTH TEHRAN, SO PERSONNEL WILL NOT BE AROUND U.S. COMPOUND DURING CRITICAL HOURS.

7. RSO'S COMMENT: AS REPORTED IN TEHRAN 5391 AND UPDATED HERE, OUR SECURITY SITUATION IS AS FOLLOWS: ANTI-TERRORIST CONSTRUCTION AT THE CHANCERY WILL BE COMPLETED PRIOR TO MAY 25. OUTER STEEL DOORS ARE IN PLACE AND INNER BLAST DOORS ARE TO BE INSTALLED WITHIN TWO DAYS. BALLISTIC WINDOW BOXES ARE ALSO BEING INSTALLED THIS WEEK. ALL WINDOWS ON ALL FLOORS HAVE BEEN GRILLED.

8. NEW INTERNAL DEFENSE PLANS (ANNEX K) TO E & E PLAN HAVE BEEN DRAFTED AND AFTER APPROVAL BY CHARGE TODAY WILL BE DISSEMINATED TO AMERICAN STAFF. CHARGE HELD MEETING TODAY TO DISCUSS "MODUS OPERANDI" IN THE EVENT OF AN ATTACK A LA 2/14 OR A LARGE-SCALE MOB ATTACK ON THE EMBASSY WHICH COULD OCCUR 5/24 OR 5/25. HE PLANS MEETING TOMORROW MORNING (5/24) WITH MFA OF GOI TO PRESS FOR PRIOR AND CONTINUING ARMED INTERVENTION BY THE PGOI TO PREVENT A REPEAT OF 2/14 OR AN OVERRUN OF THE CHANCERY AND COMPOUND AREA BY A LARGE MOB. ON HAT AT PRESENT ARE OVER 600 TEAR GAS GRENADES AND AMPLE SHOTGUN AND HANDGUN AMMUNITION.

9. RSO JUDGES PERSONNEL IN THE CHANCERY WOULD BE SECURE FROM SMALL ARMS BUT NOT EXPLOSIVES OR WIDE-SCALE USE OF INCENDIARY DEVICES. WE HAVE TRIPLED UP ON FIRE FIGHTING EQUIPMENT AND WILL HAVE ESCAPE WINDOWS AND ROLL-UP LADDERS IN PLACE SOONEST. AS OF 5/25 WE WILL HAVE MAXIMIZED OUR DEFENSE POSTURE. CHANCERY IS BEING CALLED "FORT APACHE" BY AMERICANS HERE.

10. M.S.I. IS ON ALERT AND WILL BE PRESENT IN CHANCERY IN FORCE ON 5/24 AND 5/25. ON FRIDAY, 5/25, APPROXIMATELY 30 AMERICANS WILL BE IN CHANCERY AS WELL AS 3 FSN'S, I.E. TWO TELEPHONE OPERATORS AND THE CHARGE'S CHAUFFEUR. THE CONTRACT GUARD FORCE ALSO WILL BE PRESENT ON THE COMPOUND. ALL ARE DEEMED ESSENTIAL FOR EMBASSY DEFENSE, FIRE CONTROL, COMMUNICATIONS WORK, OR TO SERVE AS LIAISON WITH PGOI. ALL OTHER AMERICANS WILL BE ABSENT AS INDICATED AND WILL NOT RETURN UNTIL THE EMBASSY SIGNALS AN ALL CLEAR. NAAS

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TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 3857
INFO RUQMHR/AMEMBASSY TEHRAN 0756
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C O N F I D E N T I A L

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 08822

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PINR, UN, IR
SUBJECT: BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON KAZEM RADJAVI, IRANIAN PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO UN IN GENEVA

REFERENCE: STATE 122429

1. IT APPEARS THAT DEPARTMENT MAY BE PROVIDING INFORMATION ON THE WRONG KAZEM RADJAVI. AMBASSADOR RADJAVI HAD LUNCHEON WITH AMBASSADOR VANDEN HEUVEL ON MAY 11, AND AMBASSADOR VANDEN HEUVEL PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING MEMORANDUM REGARDING THIS MEETING:

2. QUOTE: I DOUBT THAT STATE 122429, MAY 14, 1979, IS CORRECT REGARDING RADJAVI'S AGE. HE IS EITHER ABOUT 45 OR WAS DISCOVERED THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH. HE HAS BEEN LIVING IN GENEVA FOR MOST OF THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS, HAVING BEEN PUBLICLY OPPOSED TO THE SHAH SINCE THE TIME OF MOSSADEGH. HE HAS BEEN HELPED IN GENEVA CONSIDERABLY BY JACQUES FREYMOND, FORMERLY DIRECTOR OF THE GRADUATE INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES.

3. QUOTE: RADJAVI DID HIS DOCTORIAL DISSERTATION ON "REVISIONISM REGARDING THE DOCTRINE OF THE STATE: A STUDY OF SOVIET, YUGOSLAV AND CZECHOSLOVAKIAN ATTITUDES." I ASKED HIM HOW HE WOULD DESCRIBE HIMSELF IN POLITICAL TERMS. HE REPLIED: "A LIBERAL DEMOCRAT IN U.S. TERMS."

4. QUOTE: HIS BROTHER WAS SENTENCED TO PRISON BY THE SHAH'S GOVERNMENT. RADJAVI ORGANIZED WESTERN FRIENDS WHO HELPED SPARE HIS BROTHER'S LIFE. HE EXPECTS IRAN TO BE NON-ALIGNED POLITICALLY, BUT HE SAYS THAT BOTH THE BAZARGAN GOVERNMENT AND HE HAVE ENORMOUS RESPECT FOR THE UNITED STATES AND WILL SEEK WAYS TO RE-ESTABLISH OUR RELATIONSHIP. END QUOTE.

5. WOULD APPRECIATE CONFIRMATION FROM DEPARTMENT.
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1651
BT
S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF TEHRAN 05857

CLASS: SECRET
CHRGE: STATE
APPRV: CHG:C
DRFTD: POL:JLE
CLEAR: POL:VLT
DISTR: POL RF

LIMDIS

E.O. 12065: XDS-4 6/6/85 (STEMPEL, J.D.) OR-P
TAGS: PINS, PORS, IR
SUBJ: MODERATES AGAINST THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT: REPORTING CABLE)

2. SUMMARY: EX-SOI OFFICIAL SAYS MILITARY IS READY TO ORGANIZE TO PROTECT ITSELF AGAINST ISLAMIC REVOLUTION. MORE FORMER OFFICIALS ESCAPE IRAN. EX-ESTABLISHMENTARIANS PREPARING CAMPAIGN AGAINST KHOMEINI, PART WILL BE WAGED ABROAD. END SUMMARY.

3. CYRUS ELAHI (STRICTLY PROTECT), PROFESSOR AT NATIONAL UNIVERSITY, EX-AIDE TO EX-MINISTER OF EDUCATION MANUCHEHR GANJI AND LONG-TIME FRIEND OF POLOFF ARRANGED LUNCH JUNE 4 TO DISCUSS CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION. ELAHI BEGAN BY SAYING THAT HE WAS BEING DISCREETLY WATCHED ON A HIT-AND-MISS BASIS BECAUSE OF HIS FORMER ROLE IN GOVERNMENT. HE CONTINUES TO TEACH AT NATIONAL UNIVERSITY, WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS BEING IN CHAOS. HE WAS FORBIDDEN TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY, BUT ON DISCOVERING THAT ONE OF HIS EX-STUDENTS IS IN CHARGE OF THE LIST, WAS ABLE TO GET HIS NAME REMOVED. HE IS NOW FREE TO COME AND GO, BUT PLANS TO REMAIN IN IRAN FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

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4. ELAHI BEGAN BY NOTING THAT IRANIAN ESTABLISHMENT HAD RUINED ITSELF, BUT AMERICA BEARS RESPONSIBILITY TOO. YOU CAN'T PROP UP A MAN LIKE THE SHAH FOR 30 YEARS, THEN JUST LET HIM GO. SOURCE AND POLOFF EXCHANGED WHAT HAS BECOME RITUAL DIALOG ABOUT U.S. ROLE IN IRAN AND WHAT U.S. COULD OR SHOULD HAVE DONE. ELAHI, UNLIKE MANY, HOWEVER, WAS WILLING TO GIVE HIS OWN SOCIAL STRATA THE LION'S SHARE OF THE BLAME. HE THEN TURNED TO THE PRESENT: HE AND OTHERS WHO WERE NOT IN HIGH VISIBILITY JOBS IN THE OLD REGIME, AND WHO WERE IN MANY CASES ANTI-SHAH, ARE BANDING TOGETHER. THEY KNOW THE CRITICAL GROUP IS THE ARMY, ESPECIALLY THE REMAINING OFFICERS. THEY HAVE APPROACHED SEVERAL OFFICERS WHO ARE BIDING THEIR TIME AND RESTORING THEIR UNITS TO FIGHTING CAPABILITY. SEVERAL OF THE OFFICERS WHO WERE PRO-REVOLUTION HAVE BEEN APPALLED AT THE WAY KHOMEINI HAS RUN THINGS OVER THE PAST TWO MONTHS. ELAHI THEN LAUNCHED INTO PITCH THAT U.S. SHOULD STIFFEN BACKBONE OF MILITARY AGAINST DAY WHEN CHANCE WOULD COME FOR MODERATES TO COME BACK TO POWER. HE SAID PROVISION OF MILITARY POLICE SECURITY IN QOM HAD SENT KHOMEINI AND ENTOURAGE INTO A TIZZY BECAUSE IF POLICE COULD

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[illegible], THEY COULD ALSO TAKE INTO CUSTODY ELAHI DESCRIBED ATMOSPHERE IN QOM AS STEEPED IN TENSION. (INTERESTINGLY, PRESS MORNING JUNE 5 REPORTED CHIEF OF MILITARY POLICE, BRIG GEN RAHIMI, HAD ANNOUNCED THAT HENCEFORTH ONLY KHOMEINI'S NEIGHBORHOOD WOULD BE PROTECTED, NOT INDIVIDUAL LEADERS. HE ASCRIBED CHANGE IN PLAN TO "NON-COOPERATION FROM RELIGIOUS LEADERS.") POLOFF FIRMLY DISCOURAGED SUGGESTION THAT U.S. HAD A ROLE TO PLAY WITH MILITARY ALONG LINES ELAHI HAD SUGGESTED.

5. ELAHI SAID MODERATES WOULD CONTINUE TO WORK ON THEIR ORGANIZATION, BUT NECESSARY ELEMENT FOR ANY GROUP WHICH WANTED TO OPPOSE KHOMEINI WAS MILITARY FORCE: OFFICERS WERE CRITICAL TO THIS. POLOFF REMINDED SOURCE THAT SHAH HAD HEAVY MILITARY FORCE BUT NO POLITICAL BASE, AND WONDERED HOW MODERATES WERE GOING TO HANDLE SAME PROBLEM. SOURCE REPLIED THAT NUMBER OF EX-MINISTERS AND GENERALS HAD FOUND THEIR WAY OUT OF IRAN. HIS OWN MINISTER, MANUCHEHR GANJI HAD WITHIN PAST 24 HOURS ARRIVED IN U.S., AND AT LEAST TWO SENIOR GENERALS HAD ESCAPED WITHIN PAST TWO WEEKS. ELAHI'S GROUP AND OTHERS HOPE TO ESTABLISH ALLIANCE WITH SHARIATMADARI. HE ADDED THAT EX-CHIEF OF STAFF GHARABAGHI WAS IN HIDING UNDER PROTECTION OF AYATOLLAH SHARIATMADARI, WHICH HAD GIVEN MODERATES HOPE THAT SHARIATMADARI WOULD "PLAY BALL" WITH THEM WHEN THE TIME WAS RIPE. (COMMENT: ALL OF ABOVE IS CONSISTENT WITH WHAT WE HAVE HEARD ELSEWHERE; ONLY INFO ON GANI'S WHEREABOUTS IS NEW. ELAHI IS PROBABLY IN A POSITION TO KNOW, SINCE HE WAS ALWAYS CLOSE TO GANJI DOWNER.)

6. ELAHI WAS AWARE POLOFF WAS DEPARTING IRAN SHORTLY AT END OF FOUR-YEAR TOUR, AND WANTED TO INFORM POLOFF THAT GROUP OF MODERATES WAS ORGANIZING TO SET THEIR STORY BEFORE SELECTED USG OFFICIALS AND PRIVATE AMERICAN CITIZENS, INCLUDING KEY CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS AND THOSE FORMERLY CONNECTED WITH IRAN, SUCH AS EX-U.S. AMBASSADORS. INDIVIDUAL WHO WOULD MAKE INITIAL CONTACT WOULD BE PRESTIGIOUS FIGURE WHO WOULD HAVE ENTREE, BUT ELAHI DID NOT WANT TO NAME HIM. EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO
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INFLUENCE OTHER COUNTRIES AS WELL AS U.S. NOT TO SUPPORT KHOMEINI, OR AT MINIMUM, TO PUSH HIM TOWARD WESTERN DEMOCRATIC CONCEPTS, WHATEVER THEY MIGHT BE CALLED (A ROSE BY ANY OTHER NAME.....).

7. CONVERSATION CONCLUDED WITH PLEA THAT U.S. "NOT KEEP ITS HEAD IN SAND WHILE IRAN WAS IN AGONY." POLOFF REPLIED THAT IF MODERATES HAD STRENGTH TO GET THE JOB DONE, GOOD FOR THEM: IF NOT, IT WAS UNFORTUNATE; IN EITHER EVENT, HOWEVER, U.S. HAD PUBLICLY STATED AND MEANT ITS POSTURE OF NON-INTERVENTION IN IRANIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. ELAHI AGREED INTERVENTION WOULD BE THE KISS OF DEATH FOR ANY MODERATE MOVEMENT IF DISCOVERED, BUT STILL ARGUED FOR "DISCREET" U.S. SUPPORT FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL PURPOSES. POLOFF SAID ANSWER WAS STILL NO, BUT ELAHI AGREED TO KEEP IN TOUCH.

8. COMMENT: CONVERSATION WAS SIMILAR TO OTHERS WE HAVE HAD IN RECENT PAST. IT IS REPORTED IN SOME DETAIL, BECAUSE ELAHI HAS HAD (AND WE BELIEVE HE STILL DOES HAVE) ACCESS TO GANJI, AMIN ALIMARD (EX-CIVIL SERVICE HEAD), AND OTHERS OF YOUNGER ESTABLISHMENT GROUP. IT WAS QUITE CLEAR FROM HIS REMARKS THAT ONES WHO ARE LEFT WHO ARE NOT HOPELESSLY TARRED WITH CORRUPTION FROM PAST HOPE TO INFLUENCE FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN IRAN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. KAAS
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S E C R E T TEHRAN 05857/2

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E.O. 12065GDS (6/6/83, PRECHT, HENRY)

TAGS: PINS, PORS, IR
SUBJECT: MODERATES AGAINST ISLAMIC REVOLUTION

REF: TEHRAN 5857

WASHINGTON FRIEND OF MANOUCHER GANJI CONFIRMS THAT HE IS IN THE U.S. AND IS LYING LOW. VANCE
BT
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CLASS: CONFID
CHRGE: STATE
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CLEAR: POL:VE
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E.O. 12065: XDS-4 6/11/99 (STEMPEL, JOHN D.) OR-P
TAGS: PINS, SEDU, IR
SUBJECT: THE LEFT, THE RIGHT AND THE UNIVERSITIES

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY: ISLAMIC RIGHT, NOT LEFT, HAS BEEN PUTTING HEAT ON WESTERN-EDUCATED FACULTY MEMBERS IN PAST MONTH. SEVERAL HAVE BEEN FIRED FOR ALLEGED CIA CONTACTS. EDUCATIONAL POLICY IS A MESS. UNIVERSITY-LINKED LEFTIST GROUPS REMAIN FRAGMENTED. SOURCE CLOSE TO UNIVERSITY LEFTISTS BELIEVES THEY WILL BE UNABLE TO MAKE A SERIOUS BID FOR POWER BEFORE OCTOBER. MUCH MORE LIKELY IS SERIOUS CONFLICT OVER SUMMER INVOLVING CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION. BIO NOTES. END SUMMARY.

3. POLOFF PAID CALL ON UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR ALI MOHAMMADI (STRONGLY PROTECT), WHO HAS BEEN VERY ACTIVE IN FACULTY MOVEMENT. HE HAD BEEN OF EXTENSIVE HELP TO EMBASSY IN DECEMBER-JANUARY PERIOD (REFTELS DESTROYED HERE), BUT HAS BEEN UNWILLING TO TALK TO EMBOFF BECAUSE HE HAS BEEN WATCHED FAIRLY CLOSELY BY HIS ACADEMIC RIVALS. ON HEARING POLOFF WAS DEPARTING POST, HE AGREED TO MEET PRIVATELY AT HOME FOR A FEW MINUTES. AS GOVERNING BOARD MEMBER OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS (NOUP), HE HAS BEEN IN EXTENSIVE CONTACT WITH ALL FACTIONS ON UNIVERSITY SCENE.

4. SOURCE WAS EXTREMELY DEPRESSED AT WAY REVOLUTION WAS GOING. HE SAID ISLAMIC RIGHTISTS--AYATOLLAH KHALKHALI'S NEW ISLAMIC FEDAYEEN AND ANOTHER GROUP, THE "ISLAMIC SOCIETY"--HAVE BEEN HOUNDING WESTERN-EDUCATED PROFESSORS. IT WAS THIS GROUP WHICH HAD TAKEN LEFTIST FEDAYEEN LISTS OF USICA MAGAZINE SUBSCRIBERS AND BRANDED RECIPIENTS AS CIA AGENTS. SOURCE SAID HE KNEW OF 15 TO 20 PROFESSORS WHO HAD BEEN FIRED ON STRENGTH OF THIS, PLUS OCCASIONALLY OTHER ALLEGATIONS. IN REPLY TO QUESTION WHY IT WAS ISLAMICS AND NOT LEFT THAT WERE DOING THIS, HE REPLIED, "THE LEFT DOESN'T DARE--THEY KNOW IF THEY ATTACK WESTERN-EDUCATED MEN, THEY WILL BE BRANDED AND HOUNDED AS KGB AGENTS." SOURCE THOUGHT FUNDAMENTALIST ISLAMIC TYPES HAD CONCERTED CAMPAIGN ON TO ROOT OUT WESTERN INFLUENCE. THERE HAD EVEN BEEN VERBAL ATTACKS ON SOME FACULTY WITH FOREIGN-BORN WIVES.

5. AS A RESULT OF THESE ATTACKS AND GENERAL CONFUSION, EDUCATIONAL POLICY IS BECOMING A DISASTER. BUDGETS FOR RESEARCH AT MOST UNIVERSITIES HAVE BEEN CUT BY FIFTY PER CENT. FACULTY MEMBERS ARE DISSATISFIED, BUT AFRAID TO SAY ANYTHING IN PREVAILING CLIMATE. MANY WILL BAIL OUT OF IRAN

THIS SUMMER. SOURCE (AND OTHERS WE HAVE TALKED TO) IS AFRAID THIS WILL VIRTUALLY DESTROY UNIVERSITY SYSTEM AS DECENT ACADEMIC PLACE FOR REPUTABLE SCHOLARS AND TEACHERS TO WORK. SOURCE HAD PREVIOUSLY SAID THAT POLITICIZATION OF UNIVERSITIES WAS HAVING THIS EFFECT, TOO; STEPPED UP ATTACKS ON PROFESSORS HAVEASSURED THAT DEPARTURES WILL REACH STAMPEDE PROPORTIONS. THIS WILL MAKE STATISTICAL PROBLEM OF YOUNG HIGH-SCHOOL LEAVERS EVEN MORE ACUTE: EACH YEAR 600,000 FINISH HIGH SCHOOL, BUT ONLY 30,000 FIND PLACES IN LOCAL UNIVERSITIES. U.S. AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES ARE UNLIKELY TO BE HAVENS FOR SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS AS IN PAST, AND LOCAL UNIVERSITIES MAY NOT BE ABLE TO TAKE 32,000. SOURCE SAID DESPITE ISLAMIC RAILINGS AGAINST WEST, OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF IRANIANS WANT TO GO TO SCHOOL ABROAD IF THEY CAN.

6. IN DISCUSSION OF LEFTIST STRENGTH, SOURCE SAID UNIVERSITY-RELATED LEFT HAS FAILED TO GET ITSELF ORGANIZED. INTERNAL RIVALRIES WITHIN LEFTIST MOVEMENT HAVE KEPT ANY KIND OF UNIFIED COORDINATING BODY FROM DEVELOPING. CHUCKLING, HE SAID HE WOULD NOT HAVE BELIEVED IT POSSIBLE THAT LEFT COULD HAVE BEEN AS DISORGANIZED AS THE MULLAHS, BUT THEY SEEM TO HAVE MANAGED. HIS FEAR WAS THAT MUJAHEDIN AND PALESTINIAN SUPPORTERS TO LEFT OF ISLAMIC MOVEMENT WILL GATHER IN LEFTIST GROUPS TO CHALLENGE RIGHT-WINGERS AND INCREASE CONFLICT WITHIN ISLAMIC MOVEMENT. HE DID NOT RULE OUT POSSIBILITY OF THREE-WAY SPLIT, WITH KHOMEINI AND HIS RADICAL AYATOLLAHS AT ONE CORNER OF TRIANGLE, SHARIAT-MADARI AND OTHER "CONSERVATIVE" AYATOLLAHS WITH PEASANTRY AT SECOND CORNER, AND LEFTIST ISLAMIC BUNCH AT OTHER CORNER. WHEN PRESSED ON WHO LEADERSHIP OF THIRD GROUP MIGHT BE, SOURCE SUGGESTED THAT AYATOLLAH TALEQANI AND MUJAHEDIN LEADER MASSOUD RAJAVI WOULD PROBABLY BE KEY FIGURES. SOURCE THOUGHT EARLIEST THIS SORT OF LEFTIST CHALLENGE COULD GET ORGANIZED WOULD BE THE FALL, PROBABLY NOT BEFORE OCTOBER. TRADITIONAL LEFT, THE TUDEH PARTY, WAS STILL A BIT OF A MYSTERY. YOUNGER IRANIANS UP TO AGE THIRTY OR SO WERE CLEARLY OPTING FOR MORE RADICAL COMMUNIST GROUPS--MARXIST FEDAYEEN AND A NUMBER OF OTHER FRAGMENTED GROUPS. OLDER IRANIANS WERE STILL WORKING WITHIN TUDEH
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* U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1978-288-344

FRAMEWORK, AND SOURCE THOUGHT BIG QUESTION MARK WAS WHAT TUDEH INTENDED TO DO. IF IT THREW ITS LOT IN WITH OTHERS, LEFT COULD MAKE SOME REAL TROUBLE DURING ARGUMENTS OVER FORTHCOMING CONSTITUTION. SO FAR, HOWEVER, TUDEH HAS KEPT ALOOF FROM OTHERS.

7. CONSTITUTIONAL CONFLICT WILL BE MAJOR BRAWL, SOURCE FEELS. KHOMEINI EFFORT TO FREEZE PEOPLE AND GROUPS OUT OF PROCESS BY HAVING LIMITED FORTY-MEMBER ASSEMBLY TO REVIEW CONSTITUTION IS ONE THING WHICH MIGHT BRING LEFT TOGETHER IN ALLIANCE WITH SECULAR LIBERALS. SOURCE SAID HE COULD NOT BELIEVE KHOMEINI AND HIS ENTOURAGE WERE THAT DUMB, BUT HIS SOUNDINGS INDICATE THEY PLAN TO RAILROAD CONSTITUTION THROUGH, AND THAT DRAFT WHICH FINALLY EMERGES WILL BE MORE REACTIONARY THAN LIBERAL. HE FORESEES A LONG, HOT SUMMER. UNLESS ECONOMY TURNS UP, WHOLE IRANIAN EXPERIMENT COULD BECOME UNSTUCK BETWEEN MID-JUNE AND AUGUST.

8. IN NOTES ON SOME PERSONALITIES, SOURCE SAID HE KNEW NEW IRANIAN AMBASSADOR TO MOSCOW MOHAMMAD MOKRI AND DESCRIBED HIM AS "A LITTLE BIT CRAZY." SOURCE THOUGHT PGOI WOULD EITHER HAVE TO REPLACE HIM OR WIND UP APPEARING TO BE USSR'S BEST FRIEND." IRAN COMMUNICATIONS INSTITUTE IS NOW HEADED BY A DR. ASSADI. FORMER DIRECTOR MAGID TEHRANIAN HAS FLED IRAN, AND INSTITUTE IS GOING THROUGH A VERY ANTI-FOREIGN PHASE. ENGLISH CLASSES HAVE BEEN ENDED, AND ENGLISH-LANGUAGE BULLETIN HAS BEEN SUSPENDED. SOURCE ALSO DESCRIBED NEW FOREIGN MINISTRY UNDER SECRETARY FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS SADEQ TEHRANI AS A VERY RIGHT-WING MOSLEM, "MORE ISLAMIC THAN ALLAH." NAAS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 06069 /2

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CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
CHRGE: STATE 6/13/79
APPRV: CHARGE:CUNAAS
DRFTD: POL:JDSTEMPEL:MJ
CLEAR: POL:VLTOMSETH
DISTR: CHG POL-S OR ECON IGA RF

E.O. XDS-4 6/13/99 (STEMPEL, JOHN D.) OR-P
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, IR, SHUM
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH MINATCHI

REF: (A) TEHRAN 4498, (B) TEHRAN 5420, (C) TEHRAN 5585

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT: REPORTING CABLE.)

2. SUMMARY: MINATCHI HOPES FOR BETTERMENT OF US-IRAN TIES, SAYS CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY WILL BE ELECTED. PGOI HOPES TO HAVE NEW GOVERNMENT IN PLACE BY SEPTEMBER. REVOLUTIONARY COURTS MAY EASE OFF NEXT MONTH. RED CROSS IS VISITING IRAN TO DISCUSS PRISONS. MINATCHI VERY TOUCHY ABOUT CONFLICT AMONG AYATOLLAHS. END SUMMARY.

3. MINISTER OF NATIONAL GUIDANCE AND TOURISM DR. NASSER MINATCHI STOPPED AROUND POLOFF STEMPEL'S APARTMENT EVENING JUNE 12 FOR SHORT VISIT BY WAY OF FAREWELL. MINATCHI EXPRESSED SORROW THAT POLOFF WAS LEAVING IRAN AND URGED CONTINUED EFFORT TO IMPROVE US-IRAN TIES. POLOFF POINTED OUT THAT EVENTS OF RECENT PAST MEANT ROAD BACK WILL BE SLOW AND REQUIRE RESTRAINT ON IRANIAN SIDE. MINATCHI AGREED, AND SAID PRIME MINISTER HAD JUST RECENTLY GOTTEN KHOMEINI'S AGREEMENT TO "TAPER OFF" HIS COMMENTS ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS GENERALLY AND U.S. RELATIONS SPECIFICALLY. (COMMENT: BELIEVE IT WHEN YOU SEE IT, NOT BEFORE.) POLOFF SUGGESTED THERE WERE A NUMBER OF THINGS PGOI COULD DO TO GIVE SOME SMALL SIGNALS THAT IT WISHED TO MOVE ON--FOREMOST AMONG THESE WAS RELEASE OF REZA AMINI. MINATCHI MADE USUAL DISCLAIMER ABOUT PGOI HAVING LITTLE INFLUENCE WITH COURTS AND POLOFF SAID WHOLE GENERAL PROBLEM OF PGOI-QOM TIES CONCERNED U.S., ESPECIALLY SINCE KHOMEINI HAD BEEN UNREMITTINGLY NEGATIVE ON U.S. RELATIONS. MINATCHI UNCOMFORTABLY ACKNOWLEDGED THIS WAS TRUE, BUT PLACED HIS HOPES ON PRIME MINISTER'S EFFORTS TO GET KHOMEINI OUT OF INTERNATIONAL ARENA.

4. DISCUSSION THEN TURNED TO NEW CONSTITUTION. MINATCHI SAID PAPERS WOULD BEGIN TO PUBLISH IT THIS WEEK, AND PLANS WERE BEING DRAWN UP FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY OF ABOUT FIFTY PEOPLE, TO BE ELECTED BY PROVINCES. (COMMENT: THIS IS FIRST TIME POSSIBILITY OF ELECTION OF SMALLER ASSEMBLY WAS BEEN MENTIONED; IF TRUE, IT WOULD DEFUSE SOME OF THE HEAT IN THE OPPOSITION TO A MORE LIMITED ASSEMBLY. IT WOULD ALSO REPRESENT A STEP BACKWARD FOR KHOMEINI.) MINATCHI SAID KHOMEINI AND REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL REALIZED NEED FOR SPEED IN GETTING FRAMEWORK ESTABLISHED, AND HOPED THAT MORE REDUCED COUNCIL COULD FINISH DELIBERATIONS WITHIN TWO MONTHS. IN REPLY TO QUESTION, MINATCHI SAID PRESENT TIMETABLE IS TO HAVE DISCUSSION, CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY, REFERENDUM, AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN TIME TO GET

CONFIDENTIAL TEHRAN 6168/1

PERMANENT GOVERNMENT INSTALLED IN SEPTEMBER. (COMMENT: THIS IS ASKING A LOT OF IRAN'S FLEDGLING POLITICAL SYSTEM, BUT AS MINATCHI ACKNOWLEDGED, "IF WE DON'T PUSH PEOPLE, IT WILL NEVER GET DONE.")

5. ON QUESTION OF REVOLUTIONARY COURTS, MINATCHI ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IRAN HAD TAKEN A BEATING IN EYES OF WORLD, BUT STRONGLY DEFENDED NECESSITY OF VIGOROUS ACTION. MINATCHI SAID KHOMEINI HAD TOLD MINJUSTICE MOBASHERI AND HIMSELF THAT "THE PEOPLE" WERE READY TO KILL EVERYONE IN QASR PRISON, AND FAST ACTION WAS REQUIRED. POLOFF MERELY COMMENTED THAT IT WAS UNCLEAR WHETHER LEADERS LED PEOPLE OR PEOPLE LED LEADERS IN THIS CASE. MINATCHI SAID PRIME MINISTER HAD GOTTEN KHOMEINI'S AGREEMENT TO SLOWLY DISBAND REVOLUTIONARY COURTS OVER NEXT TWO MONTHS AND PUT SECURITY AND CORRUPTION CASES UNDER SPECIAL MINISTRY OF JUSTICE COURTS WHICH WERE TO BE SET UP. HE SAID NEW CONSTITUTION WOULD GIVE BASIS FOR SPECIAL COURTS AS WELL AS PROVIDE FOR A JUDICIAL COUNCIL RATHER THAN A MINISTER OF JUSTICE WHICH WOULD MONITOR COURT SYSTEM. THIS COUNCIL WOULD BE COMPOSED OF FIVE JUDGES NOMINATED BY THE CLERGY AND SEVEN NOMINATED BY THE COUNTRY'S SUPREME COURT. (COMMENT: THIS SEEMS LIKE HIGH NUMBER OF CLERICAL JUDGES TO US, AND PROBABLY MEANS THAT NEXT NEW CONSTITUTION IS GOING TO HAVE GREATER CLERICAL INFLUENCE THAN DRAFTS RENDERED ABOUT IN PRESS AND REPTELS.)

6. MINATCHI ALSO SAID INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS COMMITTEE (ICRC) IS PRESENTLY VISITING IRAN. POLOFF HAD ATTACKED ICRC FOR NOT PUBLICIZING ITS REPORTS MADE DURING SHAH'S TIME. ICRC HAD FINALLY AGREED TO LET MINATCHI'S MINISTRY HAVE COPIES AND PUBLISH THEM. MINATCHI SAID ICRC WAS PLEASED WITH ITS CURRENT PRISON VISITS.

7. AS MINATCHI WAS DEPARTING, SUBJECT OF CONFLICT AMONG AYATOLLAHS CAME UP (MINATCHI HAS ALWAYS BEEN VERY CLOSE TO SHARIATMADARI). MINATCHI WAS VERY LEERY ABOUT COMMENTING ON SUBJECT, AND SAID RELIGIOUS LEADERS WERE NOW STRIVING FOR UNITY. HE LEFT NO DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT THERE ARE SERIOUS DIFFERENCES BETWEEN KHOMEINI AND SHARIATMADARI AND THAT THESE CAUSE ACUTE PROBLEMS FOR POGI. BEYOND THAT HE WOULD NOT BE DRAWN.

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8. COMMENT: POLOFF WAS IMPRESSED BY WAY PREVIOUS MINATCHI OPTIMISM, BORDERING ON POLLYANNA VIEW, HAS GIVEN WAY OVER PAST THREE MONTHS TO MORE SOBER UNDERSTANDING OF PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT. MINATCHI IS STILL AN OPTIMIST, BUT NOW HE'S MORE AWARE OF THE CHUCKHOLES IN THE ROAD TO THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC. HE REMAINS AN ENERGETIC, ACTIVE PARTICIPANT NEAR THE CENTER OF THE RELIGIO-POLITICAL PROCESS. NAAS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 06168/2

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 152674

E.O. 12065 GDS 6/14/85 (PRECHT, HENRY)

TAGS: PINR, IR

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH IRANIAN POLITICAL SCIENTIST

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. ON JUNE 9 DEPTOFF HAD LENGTHY CONVERSATION WITH DR. "BUZZ" FOZOUNI, AN IRANIAN WITH AN AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE PH.D WHO WORKED TWO YEARS IN THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE, LEAVING IRAN A MONTH AGO. PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE, HE WAS DETAINED BY A KOMITEH WHICH SUSPECTED HIM OF BEING AN INTELLIGENCE AGENT BECAUSE OF HIS ASSOCIATION WITH AMERICANS IN PURSUING A GOI ,RESEARCH PROJECT. FOZOUNI'S OBSERVATIONS OFTHE IRANIAN SCENE PARALLEL MUCH OF THE EMBASSY'S RECENT REPORTING AND WILL NOT BE REPEATED IN DETAIL HERE.

3. IN BRIEF HE BELIEVES KHOMEINIFEELS VERY MUCH ON THE DEFENSIVE AND THIS TENDS TO EXPLAIN HIS UNCOMPROMISING ATTITUDE TOWARD THE LEFT, LIBERALS AND FOREIGNERS. FOZOUNI SAW LITTLE PROSPECT FOR AN EARLY IMPROVEMENT IN THE CONDITION OF THE U.S. IN IRAN AND THOUGHT THAT OUR FORTUNES WOULD BEST BE ENHANCED THROUGH A RESTORED U.S. COMMERCIAL PRESENCE. HE DID NOT ANTICIPATE THE COLLAPSE OF THE BAZARGAN GOVERNMENT OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS

UNLESS THERE WAS AN ASSASSINATION OR OTHER UNFORSEEABLE -VENT. HE THOUGHT THAT MOST GROUPS ON THE LEFT AND ON THE RIGHT WERE PREPARING THEMSELVES FOR A CONFRONTATION IN THE MORE DISTANT FUTURE.

4. FOZOUNI SAID THAT TWO MULLAHS HAD BEEN PARTICULARLY INFLUENTIAL WITH KHOMEINI. ONE WAS HIS SON-IN-LAW ESHRAGHI WHO HAD BEEN DISCREDITED BY THE FAILURE OF HIS MOVE TO PUT ALL WOMEN UNDER THE VEIL. THE OTHER WAS KHOMEINI'S YOUNGER SON, AHMAD, WHO HAD THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR LIAISON WITH TALEGHANI, SHARIAT-MADARI AND OTHER KEY

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CLERGYMEN AND WHO WAS ALSO A KEY FIGURE IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY MUJAHEDIN.

5. IN DISCUSSING POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE LEADERSHIP IN IRAN, FOZOUNI DISMISSED SANJABI AS TOO OLD AND MATIN-DAFTARI AS INEPT. HE SAID THE MOST PROMISING SECULAR LEADER WAS ALI ASGHAR JAVADI, A RELATIVE OF THE INTERIOR MINISTER. JAVADI IS IN HIS MID-40'S, VERY CAPABLE AND HAS BEEN OUTSPOKEN IN HIS PUBLIC CRITICISM OF THE RIGID ISLAMIC MOVEMENT. FOZOUNI SAW YAZDI AS BEING GROOMED BY BAZARGAN TO ASSUME EVENTUALLY A STRONGER POSITION.

6. FINALLY, FOZOUNI-SAID THAT BAZARGAN WAS VERY POPULAR WITH THE LOWER MIDDLE CLASS AND BAZAAR MERCHANTS. BAZARGAN'S DEPARTURE WOULD BE A SURE PRESCRIPTION FOR CHAOS BECAUSE NO ONE ELSE HAD THE BREADTH OF POPULAR APPEAL.
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UNITED STATES GOVERNM

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DATE: June 21, 1979

REPLY TO ATTN OF: POL:MJMetrinko

SUBJECT: The Resignation of Moghaddam-Maraghei, Governor General of the East Azarbaijan

TO: The Files

According to one of the Tabriz FSN's, Moghaddam-Maraghei went to the Tabriz prison to investigate allegations of torture. Upon his arrival, the Revolutionary Guards refused to let him in. Returning with one of the Committee heads, he was finally given access and even found one of his friends who had been badly beaten and tortured. Moghaddam-Maraghei left for Tehran the next day and submitted his resignation in protest.

NOTE: The Governor-General's friend was Major Hakshenas, who was executed in Tabriz a few days ago. The major had been the commander of the 6th Precinct in Tabriz during the civil disorder in February, 1978.

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TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN PRIORITY 3196
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 165952

E.O. 12065 GDS, 6/27/85 (PRECHT, HENRY)

TAGS: PEPR, PINT, IR

SUBJECT: HOME THOUGHTS FROM ABROAD

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. WE HAVE GATHERED THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS AND RUMORS ON VARIOUS PERSONALITIES FROM IRANIANS IN EXILE AND OTHER OBSERVERS WHO HAVE RETURNED RECENTLY FROM IRAN.

— MATIN-DAFTARY REPORTEDLY TOLD IRANIANS IN LONDON THAT HE WAS CONFIDENT THE HARDLINE MULLAHS WOULD EVENTUALLY BACK DOWN AND AGREE TO COMPROMISE POSITIONS WITH THE SECULAR LEADERS. HIS OBSERVATIONS OF IRAN WERE GENERALLY MORE OPTIMISTIC THAN CRITICAL PUBLIC POSITIONS HE HAS TAKEN AGAINST KHOMEINI.

— AMIR-ENTEZAM. TWO RETURNED AMERICAN JOURNALISTS REGARD HIM AS SINGULARLY INEFFECTIVE AS A GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN. ONE SAID HE WAS NOT EVEN ABLE TO CARRY OFF THE ARROGANCE HE SOUGHT TO PROJECT. ONE JOURNALIST SAID ENTEZAM HAD COMPLAINED WHILE UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL AT A PARTY THAT HE WAS NOT ABLE TO PERFORM EFFECTIVELY AS A SPOKESMAN BECAUSE OF RESTRAINTS PLACED ON HIM BY OTHER IRANIAN LEADERS. THIS JOURNALIST SPECULATED THAT ENTEZAM WITHDREW VOLUNTARILY FROM THE GOVERNMENT BECAUSE OF HIS FRUSTRATIONS.

— ALI AMINI IS SAID TO BE BIDING HIS TIME IN PARIS PRETENDING TO THE ROLE OF AN IRANIAN KARAMANLIS WHO IN DUE COURSE WILL BE RECALLED TO SAVE THE NATION. AMINI IS SAID TO BELIEVE THAT HISTORICALLY THE MULLAHS HAVE PROVIDED THE CUTTING EDGE IN IRANIAN POLITICAL REVOLTS AND THEN HAVE WITHDRAWN TO LEAVE THE DAY-TO-DAY RUNNING OF AFFAIRS TO SECULAR SPECIALISTS AND POLITICIANS. CHRISTOPHER
BT

GUESTLIST (TENTATIVE) BUFFET DINNER IN HONOR OF

DR. WILLIAM GRIFFITH

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

AND READER'S DIGEST MAGAZINE

Thursday, July 12, 1979

6:30 P.M. (CASUAL)

Dr. Sayeed GODARZNIA, Director General, Consular Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, formerly head of American Dept., and Consul in Baku.

Professor Assad NEZAMI, Department of Sociology, Tehran University.

Professor Achmad AZARMI, Department of Literature, Tehran University.

Hamid NAZARI, Publisher IRANIAN, a new English language weekly. Recently interviewed Seyed Muhammad BEHESHTI, founder of Islamic Republican Party and confidant of Ayatollah Khomeini.

Ali Reza NURIZADEH, Editor "OMID-E IRAN" (The Hope of Iran), Farsi weekly magazine with Time format.

Ali Asghar TASLIMI, Political Reporter, Tehran Times.

Terry GRAHAM, Feature Writer, Tehran Times (American who converted to Muslim and has written extensively on Islam).

CHARGE Bruce Laingen

Press Attache Barry Rosen

Counselor of Embassy for Public Affairs, Jack Shellenberger (host).

* * * * * * * *

Distribution: Messrs Griffith, Laingen, Rosen, Shellenberger

[redacted]

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E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: PEPR, PROP, IR
SUBJECT: NIRT BROADCASTS ALLEGED USG INTERFERENCE

1. THE DEPARTMENT WILL HAVE NOTICED FBIS LONDON 1115Z22 JUL 79 AND 1115342 JUL 79, WHICH WAS A PARTICULARLY BLATANT EXAMPLE OF ANTI-U.S. PROPAGANDA HEARD FROM TIME TO TIME AND BROADCAST BY THE NATIONAL IRANIAN RADIO AND TELEVISION ORGANIZATION.

2. IN ORDER TO REMIND PGOI THAT WE READ TRANSCRIPTS OF SUCH BROADCASTS WITH LESS THAN TOTAL ENTHUSIASM, I SENT OFF A LETTER TO FOREIGN MINISTER YAZDI ON JULY 14 DRAWING HIS ATTENTION TO THIS PARTICULAR BROADCAST AND DESCRIBING IT AS FULL OF "TOTALLY SCURRILOUS INNUENDOS SUGGESTING OFFICIALLY SPONSORED U.S. INTERFERENCE IN IRAN'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS." THE LETTER POINTED OUT THAT WE FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW SUCH COMMENTS ARE IN KEEPING WITH THE PGOI'S EXPRESSION OF A DESIRE FOR FRIENDLY AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.

3. I POINTED OUT THAT IN OUR CONVERSATION OF JULY 2, I HAD REMINDED HIM THAT PROGRESS IN ACHIEVING OUR OBJECTIVE OF IMPROVED RELATIONS COULD NOT BE DEPENDENT UPON THE GOOD WILL AND EFFORTS OF ONE SIDE ALONE.

4. WE HAVE SENT A COPY OF THIS LETTER TO MINISTER OF NATIONAL GUIDANCE MINACHI. I HAVE ASKED FOR AN APPOINTMENT WITH HIM AND WILL REITERATE OUR POSITION THERE.

5. A COPY OF THE LETTER TO YAZDI HAS BEEN POUCHED TO NEA/PN. LAINGEN

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CLASS: CONFID
CHRGE: STATE
APPRV: CHARGE
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CLEAR: NONE
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E.O. 12065: GDS 7/31/85 (TOMSETH, VICTOR L.) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, IR
SUBJECT: CALL ON MINISTER OF JUSTICE JAVADI

REF: (A) STATE 181264, (B) STATE 194441

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. SUMMARY: CHARGE CALLED ON MINISTER OF JUSTICE JAVADI JULY 30 TO RAISE OUR CONCERN ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS IN IRAN IN GENERAL AND THE SHERRY, SHEBANI, AND AMINI CASES IN PARTICULAR. JAVADI RECEIVED CHARGE WARMLY, EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION OF THE IMPACT AMERICAN POPULAR PERCEPTIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN IRAN HAVE ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, AND PROMISED TO DO WHAT HE COULD TO RESOLVE THE THREE SPECIFIC CASES THE CHARGE RAISED. HE SAID THAT THERE IS APPRECIATION WITHIN THE PGOI AND THE JUSTICE MINISTRY OF THE LIMITATIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COURTS, BUT SUGGESTED THAT THEY HAD BEEN CONSTITUTED AS A MEANS OF LIMITING THE EFFECTS OF A WIDESPREAD DESIRE FOR REVENGE AMONG THE IRANIAN PEOPLE IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE REVOLUTION. NONETHELESS, THE PGOI'S POLICY IS TO REGULARIZE THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AS RAPIDLY AS CONDITIONS PERMIT. HE ALSO REITERATED THE PGOI'S AND THE ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP'S POLICY OF EQUITABLE TREATMENT OF MINORITIES. END SUMMARY.

3. JAVADI WELCOMED THE CHARGE BY SAYING THAT IRAN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. HAD BEEN GOOD IN THE PAST AND THAT THERE WAS NO REASON WHY THE TWO COUNTRIES SHOULD NOT BE ABLE TO CONTINUE TO HAVE A CLOSE, MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP. HE WARMLY RECALLED HIS OWN EARLIER CONTACTS WITH FORMER EMBOFF STEMPEL AND POLCOUNS LAMBRAKIS AND THE UNDERSTANDING THEY HAD SHOWN TOWARD WHAT HE AND OTHER LIKE-MINDED IRANIANS WERE ATTEMPTING TO ACHIEVE. THE CHARGE RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT HE TOO LOOKED FORWARD TO A CONTINUED MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IRAN AND THE U.S., CITING THE HUMAN RESOURCES IN PARTICULAR THAT BOTH SIDES CAN CALL UPON THAT REGARD. HE SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO EXTEND THE USG'S BEST WISHES TO THE MINISTER, HIS COLLEAGUES IN THE PGOI AND THE IRANIAN PEOPLE IN CONSOLIDATING THE GAINS OF THEIR REVOLUTION, SOMETHING THAT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY TO SAY EXCEPT THAT SOME HAD INSINUATED THAT THE USG AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SOMEHOW HAD NOT ACCEPTED THE FACT OF THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION. HE STRESSED AGAIN THAT OUR GOVERNMENT WANTS A GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH IRAN AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT SUCH A RELATIONSHIP.

4. THE CHARGE THEN WENT ON TO SAY THAT IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR DESIRE FOR A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP HE WANTED TO RAISE SOME THINGS THAT HE SAW AS IMPACTING UPON RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. ANTICIPATING THE CHARGE, JAVADI SAID THAT HE COULD UNDERSTAND WHAT HE MEANT, CITING FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON'S RECENT VISIT TO THE SHAH IN MEXICO. HE SAID THAT HE AND MANY OTHER IRANIANS COULD DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE OFFICIAL POLICY OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT OR EVEN THE GENERAL WILL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TOWARD IRAN AND THE ACTIONS OF A SINGLE PRIVATE AMERICAN CITIZEN. NONETHELESS, THE VISIT HAD PRODUCED A NEGATIVE REACTION AMONG THE IRANIAN PEOPLE AT LARGE. THE CHARGE SAID THAT HE APPRECIATED THE MINISTER'S PERCEPTION BECAUSE IT MADE IT EASIER FOR HIM TO SPEAK FRANKLY. HE SAID THAT BECAUSE OF THE MINISTER'S OWN RECORD IN THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THE IMPORTANCE ATTACHED BY PRESIDENT CARTER AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO HUMAN RIGHTS, AND OUR MUTUAL DESIRE TO ELIMINATE PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE ADVERSELY AFFECTED OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, HE FELT HE COULD SPEAK FRANKLY WITH THE MINISTER REGARDING HOW THE PERCEPTION OF JUSTICE IN IRAN AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WAS CREATING A NEGATIVE IMPRESSION OF IRAN IN THE U.S. BY RAISING THIS MATTER HE DID NOT WANT THE MINISTER TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE U.S. WAS ATTEMPTING TO INTERFERE IN IRAN'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS; RATHER, HE WANTED HIM TO UNDERSTAND THE IMPACT OF THE CONDUCT OF JUSTICE IN IRAN, IN THE U.S. AND ITS CONSEQUENT EFFECT ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP.

5. JAVADI QUICKLY REASSURED THE CHARGE THAT HIS REMARKS WOULD NOT BE MISINTERPRETED. HE SAID THAT HE AND OTHERS AS WELL RECOGNIZED THAT THE REVOLUTION BROUGHT WITH IT MANY PROBLEMS INCLUDING THAT CREATED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY COURTS. HE SUGGESTED, HOWEVER, THAT THREE TO FOUR HUNDRED EXECUTIONS BE VIEWED FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE THOUSANDS WHO MIGHT HAVE BEEN KILLED HAD NOT SOME ACTION BEEN TAKEN TO CONSTRAIN THE WIDESPREAD DESIRE AMONG THE IRANIAN PEOPLE FOR REVENGE IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE REVOLUTION. HE SAID THAT THE IRANIAN PEOPLE HAD BEEN SO FURIOUS WITH ANYONE ASSOCIATED WITH THE PREVIOUS REGIME THAT THEY WOULD HAVE SUCCUMBED

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 TEHRAN 08126

CLASS: CONFIDE
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CLEAR: NONE
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TO THE TEMPTATION TO LYNCH ANYONE FALLING INTO THEIR HANDS IF SOMETHING HAD NOT BEEN DONE TO CONTAIN THEIR FURY. NONETHELESS, HE SAID THAT THE PGOI LOOKED FORWARD TO THE EVENTUAL ABSORPTION OF THE FUNCTIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COURTS BY REGULAR GOVERNMENT AGENCIES. HE SAID THAT EVERYTHING POSSIBLE WAS BEING DONE TO MODIFY AND LIMIT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COURTS, BUT ADDED CONDITIONS IN THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD MADE IT DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE.

6. THE CHARGE EXPRESSED OUR DISAPPOINTMENT THAT THE AMNESTY ANNOUNCED ON JULY 16 HAD BEEN QUICKLY FOLLOWED BY AN INCREASED NUMBER OF EXECUTIONS, SOME ON CHARGES THAT APPEARED TO BE PURELY CRIMINAL. WE BELIEVED IT IMPORTANT TO EXPRESS TO THE PGOI OUR CONCERN ABOUT HOW THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN IRAN IN GENERAL AND THE EXECUTIONS IN PARTICULAR HAD BEEN NEGATIVELY PERCEIVED IN THE U.S. AND THUS HAD ADVERSELY IMPACTED ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. JAVADI AGAIN EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION OF OUR CONCERNS, AND REITERATED THAT IT WAS THE POLICY OF THE PGOI TO REDUCE THE POWER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COURTS AS RAPIDLY AS CONDITIONS PERMIT.

7. THE CHARGE THEN MOVED ON THE SHERRY, SHEBANI AND AMINI CASES. JAVADI TOOK NOTES ON THE BACKGROUND OF EACH AS THE CHARGE PRESENTED THEM. THE CHARGE OUTLINED WHAT HE HAD DONE TO DATE IN EACH INSTANCE, POINTING OUT THAT IN THE SHERRY CASE WE HAD PROTESTED SHERRY'S INCARCERATION WITHOUT CHARGES TO THE MFA AND FM YAZDI. WE WERE PLEASED SHERRY HAD NOW BEEN RELEASED FROM PRISON, BUT HOPED THAT IN VIEW OF DEPOSITION HE HAD ALREADY GIVEN IN INVESTIGATION OF COMPANY FOR WHICH HE HAD ALREADY WORKED THAT HE COULD NOW BE ALLOWED PROMPTLY TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.

8. CHARGE STRESSED THAT IN ALL THREE CASES WE DID NOT PRESUME TO JUDGE THE POSSIBLE GUILT OR INNOCENSE OF THE INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED, BUT THAT WE WERE GREATLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY HAD BEEN TREATED. THE EXTENDED DETENTION OR LIMITATION OF FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WITHOUT, TO THE BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE, ANY FORMAL CHARGES BEING MADE WAS PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT FOR US TO ACCEPT. HE SAID THAT HE HOPED THAT THEIR CASES COULD NOW BE RESOLVED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. WITHOUT MAKING ANY SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS, JAVADI SAID THAT HE WOULD LOOK INTO ALL THREE CASES.

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9. AS A FINAL POINT, THE CHARGE NOTED THAT THE U.S. HAD

A SPECIAL INTEREST IN THE SITUATION OF THE MINORITY COMMUNITIES. JAVADI SAID THAT IT IS THE POLICY OF THE PGOI AND THE ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP TO TREAT THE MINORITIES EQUITABLY. HE SAID THAT IF ANY MEMBER OF A MINORITY GROUP WAS ARRESTED, TRIED AND CONVICTED, IT WAS FOR THE CHARGES MADE AGAINST HIM AND NOT BECAUSE OF HIS AFFILIATION WITH A MINORITY COMMUNITY. THE CHARGE SAID THAT IN THE EMBASSY'S REPORTING WE TRIED TO MAKE THE SAME DISTINCTION, BUT THAT POST-REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN IRAN SOMETIMES MADE IT DIFFICULT FOR GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS IN THE U.S. LOOKING AT IT TO DISCRIMINATE BETWEEN THE TWO.

10. THE CHARGE CLOSED BY THANKING JAVADI FOR ALLOWING HIM TO SPEAK FRANKLY AND THE SYMPATHETIC HEARING HE HAD GIVEN HIM. JAVADI RESPONDED BY INVITING HIM TO COME BACK ANYTIME. LAINGEN
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E.O. 12065 RDS-1 8/10/85 (CONSTABLE, PETER)

TAGS: MILI, IR

SUBJECT: CONTACTING GENERAL DJAM

1. (S) ENTIRE TEXT.

2. WE HAVE HAD NO CONTACT OR REPORTS OF CONTACTS WITH GENERAL DJAM IN RECENT MONTHS AND BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF YOU COULD FIND AN OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE A RELAXED CONVERSATION WITH HIM. WE PRESUME THAT HE IS IN TOUCH WITH A VARIETY OF IRANIANS IN TEHRAN AND WOULD APPRECIATE HIS ASSESSMENT OF CONDITIONS THERE, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO THE ARMED FORCES. ANY INSIGHT YOU HAVE AS TO HIS PERSONAL PLANS WOULD BE USEFUL BUT WE ARE NOT ENCOURAGING HIM TO TAKE ANY NEW STEPS. WE WONDER IF HE HAS ANY REACTION TO RECENT PUBLICITY SURROUNDING BAKHTIAR.

3. WE LEAVE IT TO YOUR DISCRETION WHETHER YOU SHOULD DISCUSS THE CONTACT WITH GENERAL DJAM WITH THE BRITISH BEFORE PROCEEDING. COOPER
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CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
CHRGE: STATE 9/13/79
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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3190
INFO RUQMBI/AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI 0224
RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 0215
RUEHAD/USINT BAGHDAD 0228
RUQMOD/AMEMBASSY DOHA 0198
RUSBQD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 0259
RUQMRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 0255
RUSBLZ/AMEMBASSY KABUL 0265
RUQMKW/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 0226
RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0318
RUQMAM/AMEMBASSY MANAMA 0193
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 0235
RUQMMT/AMEMBASSY MUSCAT 0123
RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 0277
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF TEHRAN 08995

E.O. 12065: GDS 8/13/85 (TOMSETH, VICTOR L.) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, PINS, SOPN, IR
SUBJECT: IRAN'S NEW PRESS LAW

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. SUMMARY: THE PGOI HAS ANNOUNCED A NEW PRESS LAW WHICH HAS BEEN ROUNDLY ATTACKED BY A VARIETY OF GROUPS AS AN INFRINGEMENT ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. ON AUGUST 12 A COALITION OF NON-ISLAMIC POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS STAGED A MARCH TO PROTEST THE NEW LAW. THE MARCH DEGENERATED INTO VIOLENCE BETWEEN PROTESTOR AND ISLAMIC TOUGHS. IT IS NOT JUST THE SECULARISTS WHO HAVE SEIZED ON THE LAW AS A POLITICAL ISSUE, HOWEVER; AYATOLLAH SHARIAT-MADARI AND THE MUSLIM PEOPLE'S REPUBLICAN PARTY HAVE USED RESTRICTIONS ON THE PRESS AS MEANS OF ATTACKING THEIR RIVALS WITHIN THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT. END SUMMARY.

3. AS IS FREQUENTLY THE PRACTICE IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY IRAN, THE TEXT OF THE COUNTRY'S NEW PRESS LAW WAS MADE PUBLIC AUGUST 12 BY MINISTER OF NATIONAL GUIDANCE NASER MINACHI--SEVERAL DAYS SUBSEQUENT TO THE CLOSURE OF THE DAILY AYENDAGAN AND ITS PRESSES (WHICH EFFECTIVELY STOPPED THE PUBLICATION OF SEVERAL OTHER JOURNALS OFTEN CRITICAL OF THE ISLAMIC REGIME). MINACHI, IN A PRESS CONFERENCE HELD IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE TEXT'S RELEASE, JUSTIFIED THE RESTRICTIONS ON THE PRESS THE LAW IMPOSES BY DRAWING A PARALLEL WITH THE TIME OF MOSSADEGH WHEN, HE SAID, PRESS ATTACKS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR MOSSADEGH'S DOWNFALL AND HAD "HANDED OVER THE COUNTRY TO (GEN. FASSAN) ZAHEDI." NONETHELESS, MINACHI MAINTAINED. THE PGOI HAI NOT PUT "THE SLIGHTEST PRESSURE ON THE PRESS," AND SAID THAT HE WAS PREPARED TO GIVE A PRIZE TO ANY NEWSMAN WHO COULD SINCERELY SAY OTHERWISE.

4. MINACHI'S BRAVADO NOTWITHSTANDING, THE NEW PRESS LAW AND THE MANNER IN WHICH IT CAME INTO BEING DO NOT AUGER WELL FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN IRAN. THE LAW WAS DRAWN UP BY BUREAUCRATS AND ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARIES WITH LITTLE REGARD FOR THE VIEWS OF PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTS OR PUBLIC OPINION. THE LAW WAS THEN "PASSED" BY IRAN'S SHADOWY REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL, A BODY NO ONE ELECTED AND WHOSE MEMBERSHIP REMAINS AN OFFICIAL SECRET. OF THE LAW'S 41 ARTICLES, FULLY 23 ARE DEVOTED TO DELINIATING THE PUNISHMENTS FOR VIOLATIONS OF THE LAW OR THE MANNER IN WHICH THE PUNISHMENTS WILL BE DETERMINED. FURTHER, LICENSING REQUIREMENTS ARE DESIGNED IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE REGIME WILL HAVE SWEEPING POWERS TO DETERMINE WHO MAY PUBLISH AND HENCE BE ABLE TO CONTROL WHAT IS PRINTED WITHOUT RESORTING TO DIRECT CENSORSHIP. INDEED TEN MORE PUBLICATIONS APPARENTLY WILL BE CLOSED DOWN IMMEDIATELY FOR NON-COMPLIANCE WITH THE NEW LAW.

5. THE LAW IS ALREADY MEETING VOCAL RESISTENCE FROM A COALITION OF DISPARATE GROUPS THAT HAVE LITTLE IN COMMON OTHER THAN THEIR FOREBODING ABOUT THE DICTATORIAL TENDENCIES OF THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT. HEDAYATOLLAH MATIN-DAFTARI, LEADER OF THE SECULARIST NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT, ORGANIZED A MARCH LATE AUGUST 12 TO PROTEST RESTRICTIONS ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. A NUMBER OF OTHER GROUPS JOINED WITH HIM. AS THE PARTICIPANTS FULLY ANTICIPATED (AND PERHAPS EVEN WELCOMED), THE MARCHERS WERE HARASSED BY ISLAMIC TOUGHS. FIGHTING BROKE OUT ALONG THE MARCH ROUTE AND A NUMBER OF PEOPLE (ONE PAPER SAID 200) WERE INJURED SERIOUSLY ENOUGH TO REQUIRE HOSPITALIZATION.

6. DESPITE SUCH INTIMIDATION, IT SEEMS DOUBTFUL THAT RESISTENCE TO RESTRICTIONS ON PRESS FREEDOMS WILL QUICKLY DISSIPATE. THE ISLAMIC FORCES, WHILE NUMERICALLY FAR SUPERIOR TO THE SECULARISTS WHO HAVE BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE CAMPAIGN TO DEFEND THE PRESS, HAVE SHOWN AN INABILITY TO ORGANIZE THAT SHOULD GIVE THE ADVOCATES OF
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 TEHRAN 08995

A FREE PRESS CONSIDERABLE ROOM TO CONTINUE AGITATION. FURTHER, THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT ITSELF IS SHOWING GROWING SIGNS OF DISUNITY, WITH THE MUSLIM PEOPLE'S REPUBLICAN PARTY (MPRP) LOYAL TO AYATOLLAH SHARIAT-MADARI INCREASINGLY PREPARED TO CHALLENGE THE DOMINANCE OF FORCES LOYAL TO KHOMEINI. THE MPRP HAS BEEN QUICK TO SEIZE THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS ISSUE AS A POLITICAL BLUDGEON TO USE ON ITS ISLAMIC RIVALS. SHARIAT-MADARI HIMSELF SAID A FEW DAYS AGO THAT THE PGOI HAS NO LEGAL AUTHORITY TO PROMULGATE NEW LAWS, A COMMENT CLEARLY DIRECTED AGAINST THE THEN PENDING PRESS BILL. LAINGEN
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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 4227
INFO RUQMHR/AMEMBASSY TEHRAN 4349
BT
UNCLAS PARIS 26015

E.O. 12065 N/A
TAGS: FR, IR
SUBJECT: IRANIAN OPPOSITION PAPER TO BE PUBLISHED IN PARIS

1. LE MONDE OF AUGUST 17 CARRIES ITEM ANNOUNCING THAT IRANIAN OPPOSITION GROUPS IN PARIS, LED BY BAKHTIAR, WILL BEGIN PUBLISHING ON AUGUST 20 A DAILY PAPER CALLED NAMEH ROUZ (THE DAILY LETTER) UNDER THE DIRECTION OF JOURNALIST DJANAD ALAMIR, AMONG OTHERS.

2. THE NEW PAPER WILL BE EIGHT MIMEOGRAPHED PAGES IN PERSIAN AND WILL BE SENT TO 2,000 SUBSCRIBERS IN IRAN AS WELL AS 5,000 EMIGRES ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE. AN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE EDITION IS FORESEEN FOR PUBLICATION IN THE US NEXT FALL.

3. THE EDITORS OF THE PAPER CLAIM SUPPORT FROM SEVERAL LAIC GROUPS IN IRAN, INCLUDING THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT LED BY MATINE DAFTARI.
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF TEHRAN 09148

CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
CHRGE: STATE 8/17/79
APPR: ECON:ASENS
DRFTD: ECON:ASENS:JB
CLEAR: 1.ECON:BSCHFLL
R: ECON CHARGE' POL CHRON

E.O. 12065: GDS 8/17/85 (SENS, A.) OR-E
TAGS: ECON, EINV, EIND, IR
SUBJ: (U) SAZEMAN-E-MOSTAZAFINE: THE POOR PEOPLE'S FOUNDATION

REF: (A) TEHRAN 8807,(B) TEHRAN 6283, (C) TEHRAN 5590

1. (U) SUMMARY: THE POOR PEOPLE'S FOUNDATION HAS ACQUIRED SUBSTANTIAL ASSETS AND MONUMENTAL ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS. IT IS DESIGNED TO BE A PRIVATE ENTITY, RESPONSIBLE ONLY TO A SEVEN-MAN BOARD OF DIRECTORS HEAVILY WEIGHTED BY SENIOR MUSLIM CLERGY. AMERICAN FIRMS IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE PPF WILL NOT LOSE THEIR EQUITY; NEW MANAGEMENT CONTRACTS EMPHASIZING "MUTUAL RESPECT" AND OPENESS IN FINANCIAL MATTERS WILL BE REQUIRED. WE RECOMMEND U.S. FIRMS RESPOND POSITIVELY TO PPF EXPRESSIONS OF INTEREST IN GETTING BUSINESSES GOING AGAIN. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) WE CALLED ON THE POOR PEOPLE'S FOUNDATION DIRECTOR AS WELL WAS FORMER DIRECTOR, NOW ADVISOR, DR. MOHAMMAD HOVEIDA. KHAMOOSHI AGREED TO THE DISCUSSION, HE SAID, BECAUSE HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES WANTED TO KNOW WHY THE EMBASSY WAS INTERESTED IN THE PPF. WE EXPLAINED THAT AS AN APPARENT MAJOR INDUSTRIAL SHARE HOLDER AND MANAGER, WE FORESAW -- INDEED HAD ALREADY ENCOUNTERED -- INSTANCES WHERE THE PPF AND U.S. FIRMS WOULD HAVE TO WORK TOGETHER. THE U.S. FIRMS IN QUESTION WANTED TO KNOW WHAT -- AND WHO THEY WERE DEALING WITH AND INFORMED COMMENT BY THE EMBASSY WOULD CLEARLY BE MORE USEFUL TO THEM THAN RUMOR AND SPECULATION. KHAMOOSHI THEN SAID, A BIT AGGRESSIVELY, "WELL I CAN'T TELL YOU WHAT OUR ASSETS ARE BECAUSE I DON'T KNOW." WE RESPONDED THAT WE WERE NOT SURPRISED; GETTING A GRIP ON THE REPORTEDLY VERY SUBSTANTIAL ASSETS NOW HELD BY THE PPF WOULD TAKE SOME TIME.

3. (U) KHAMOOSHI AT THAT POINT RELAXED SOMEWHAT. ASKED TO DESCRIBE THE PPF, HE SAID THAT IT WAS CREATED TO MANAGE THE ASSETS OF THE PAHLAVI FAMILY AND THE CONFISCATED PROPERTY OF PEOPLE CONDEMNED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY COURTS. HE ADDED THAT THE FOUNDATION'S LONG-TERM POLICY IS TO MANAGE THESE ASSETS FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE POOR OF IRAN. THE FOUNDATION DERIVES ITS LEGAL BASIS FROM THE ORDER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COURT CALLING FOR ITS CREATION. WE ASKED ABOUT ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PGOI AND WERE TOLD THE PPF AND THE PGOI SHARED THE SAME REVOLUTIONARY AIMS BUT THE FOUNDATION IS COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT. HOVEIDA NOTED THAT IN THIS RESPECT THE FOUNDATION WAS A PRIVATE ORGANIZATION "JUST AS MUCH AS ANY OF THE GREAT AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS."

4. (U) THE REVOLUTIONARY COURT ORDER PROVIDES FOR A SEVEN-MEMBER BOARD OF DIRECTORS, ACCORDING TO KHAMOOSHI, WHOMHESPECIFICALLY DECLINED TO NAME; HE DID SAY SEVERAL PROMINENT CLERGYMEN WERE INCLUDED, HOWEVER. KHAMOOSHI TAKES HIS POLICY GUIDANCE FROM THE BOARD AND THEN WORKS WITH "ABOUT TEN SENIOR VICE DIRECTORS," EACH CONCERNED WITH A MAJOR FOUNDATION ACTIVITY ("AGRICULTURE, CONSTRUCTION ETC.") THE TEN PLUS KHAMOOSHI CONSTITUTE AN EXECUTIVE BOARD WHICH MAKES THE MAIN MANAGEMENT DECISIONS FOR THE ORGANIZATION.

5. (U) ASKED ABOUT RELATIONS WITH JOINT VENTURE PARTNERS, FOREIGN CONTRACTORS, KHAMOOSHI SAID PRIVATE COMPANIES IN WHICH THE FOUNDATION WAS A SHARE HOLDER WOULD BE RUN BY A MANAGEMENT TEAM "SELECTED" BY THE PPF. HE THEN EXPLAINED THIS MEANT TO HIM THAT AS LONG AS THE MANAGEMENT OF AN ENTERPRISE WAS APPROVED BY THE PPF IT WOULD BE LEFT ALONE TO CARRY OUT ITS DUTIES, SUBJECT ONLY TO KEEPING THE PPF FULLY INFORMED PARTICULARLY IN THE FINANCIAL AREA. (SEE TEHRAN 8807.) HOVEIDA THEN SAID, WITH KHAMOOSHI CONCURRING, "WE NEED THE HELP OF U.S. COMPANIES TO GET OUR COMPANIES/ FACTORIES WORKING AGAIN." THEIRSHARESWILL NOT BE TOUCHED. HE ASKED THAT WE TELL OUR FIRMS THAT IT IS THE FOUNDATION'S POLICY TO SEE ITS ENTERPRISES HERE MANAGED WELL, BUT TO THIS END IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THEY MUST BE INDEPENDENT, SUBJECT ONLY TO RESPECTING THE RIGHTS OF EQUAL PARTNERS. KHAMOOSHI ADDED THAT HE WAS WILLING TO SEE TIES TO FOREIGN FIRMS EXPANDED IF NEEDBE, HOWEVER, "NEW PROJECTS MUST BE OF BENEFIT TO IRAN."

6. (C) KHAMOOSHI THEN ASKED IF THE EMBASSY COULD HELP THE FOUNDATION GAIN OWNERSHIP OF PAHLAVI AND OTHER ASSETS IN THE U.S. WE SAID THAT WE ASSUMED THE FIRST STEP WOULD BE TO OBTAIN COUNSEL IN THE U.S. AND SUGGESTED IRAN'S EMBASSY AS BEST QUALIFIED TO RECOMMEND SPECIFIC FIRMS. KHAMOOSHI SAID HE APPRECIATED THIS BUT ASKED IF WE COULD GIVE HIM THE NAMES OF REPUTABLE FIRMS IN NEW YORK WITH WHOM HE MIGHT

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GET IN TOUCH DIRECTLY. WE SAID WE COULD GIVE HIM A FEW NAMES, PROVIDED HE UNDERSTOOD WE WERE MAKING NO RECOMMENDATIONS IN SO DOING (AND SUBSEQUENTLY WE DID GIVE HIM THREE NAMES OF LAW FIRMS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL LAWYERS LIST.)

7. (C) KHAMOOSHI IS IN HIS LATE THIRTIES, HAS A REVOLUTIONARY HALF GROWN BEARD, SPEAKS FLUENT THOUGHT NOT PARTICULARLY GRAMMATICAL ENGLISH. HE SHIED AWAY FROM PERSONAL QUESTIONS EXCEPTTOSAY HE CONSIDERED HIMSELF A "TEMPORARY DIRECTOR" AS HOVEIDA WHO HAD BEEN A DIRECTOR FOR A SHORT PERIOD ONLY. ASKED IF HE WOULD MOVE ON SOON, KHAMOOSHI SAID AS SOON AS THE FOUNDATION IS ORGANIZED. WE SUGGESTED AN ENTERPRISE OF THIS ORDER MIGHT WELL TAKE SEVERAL YEARS AND HE SMILED AND AGREED, SAYING HE WOULD STAY UNTIL THE JOB WAS DONE. HE DIDN'T SEEM TOO HAPPY ABOUT IT BUT FROM WHERE HE STANDS THE TASK MUST APPEAR MOMUMENTAL. HOVEIDA WAS SMOOTH, URBANE, A GOOD EXAMPLE OF A SENIOR BUREAUCRAT OF THE OLD ORDER; ABOUT 50, HE SEEMED ANXIOUS TO HELP KHAMOOSHI AND HANDLED HIS SOMEWHAT DELICATE POSITION RATHER WELL.

8. (C) COMMENT: THE PPF HAS BARELY BEGUN THE PROCESS OF CATALOGUING ITS ASSETS AND IMPOSING ITS IMPRINT ON THEM. WE THINK U.S. FIRMS WITH INTEREST IN PPF PROJECTS SHOULD NOT WAIT TOO LONG TO SEE WHAT THE PPF IS GOING TO DO; BEFORE LONG LOCAL MANAGERS -- OR OTHER FOREIGN FIRMS -- ARE GOING TO TRY TO TAKE THINGS INTO THEIR OWN HANDS IF THEY CAN'T GET THEIR ORIGINAL PARTNERS BACK HERE. RATHER, U.S. FIRMS CAN PROBABLY BEST PROTECT AND ADVANCE THEIR INTERESTS BY RESPONDING POSITIVELY TO PPF QUERIES ABOUT GETTING THINGS GOING AGAIN, THOUGH QUIETLY INSISTING THAT CONSISTENT WITH AN OPEN, MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP AMERICAN MANAGERS BE ALLOWED TO MANAGE WITHOUT THE PPF DIRECTLY IN THEIR KNICKERS. LAINGEN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 09765

E.O. 12065: GDS 9/4/85 (TOMSETH, V.L.) OR-P
TAGS: SEUM IR
SUBJECT: IRANIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

REF: STATE 230176

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY: PER REFTEL CHARGE SAW MINACHI SEPT 4 AND MADE A GENERAL PRESENTATION ON THE NEGATIVE PERCEPTION THE ACTIVITIES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COURTS ARE CREATING IN THE U.S. HE COVERED THE FALLAHI CASE, BUT ALSO MENTIONED THOSE OF SHERRY, SHEIBANI AND REZA AMINI AS EXAMPLES OF TREATMENT THAT IS DIFFICULT FOR AMERICANS TO UNDERSTAND. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZING RELATIONS BETWEEN IRAN AND THE U.S. WAS BEING MADE MORE DIFFICULT BY PERCEPTIONS OF JUSTICE IN IRAN. END SUMMARY.

3. CHARGE, ACCOMPANIED BY POLOFF SWIFT, SAW MINACHI SEPT 4. CHARGE SAID THAT HE WANTED TO SPEAK TO MINACHI INFORMALLY AS A FRIEND ABOUT CONCERNS GROWING OUT OF PERCEPTIONS OF CONDITIONS IN IRAN AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. HE SAID THAT THIS WAS A SUBJECT CHARGE LAINGEN AND FM YAZDI HAD DISCUSSED SEVERAL TIMES BEFORE. YAZDI HAD MENTIONED THE PERCEPTION AMONG THE IRANIAN PEOPLE CREATED BY OUR LONG AND CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH THE SHAH, A PERCEPTION WE RECOGNIZED AND HAD ATTEMPTED TO MODIFY BY PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF OUR ACCEPTANCE OF THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION AND ACTIONS, SUCH AS THOSE REGARDING THE IRANIAN TRUST FUND AND THE SALE OF REFINED FUEL PRODUCTS, RESPECTIVELY OF THE PGOI.

4. SIMILARLY, SUCH THINGS AS THE EXPULSION OF FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS AND CLOSURE OF NEWSPAPERS HAVE CREATED A NEGATIVE IMPRESSION IN THE U.S. THE ACTIVITIES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COURTS, TOO, ARE SOMETHING THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FIND HARD TO COMPREHEND. CHARGE SAID THAT HE WAS SURE MINACHI, GIVEN HIS OWN INVOLVEMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS AND WITH HIS BACKGROUND IN THE LAW, COULD UNDERSTAND OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE IMPRESSION THAT WAS BEING CREATED. HE NOTED THE PICTURES OF SUMMARY EXECUTIONS WHICH HAD RECENTLY OCCURRED IN KURDESTAN. INCARCERATION WITHOUT CHARGES WAS ANOTHER ASPECT OF THE SAME PROBLEM. HE MENTIONED THE SHERRY, SHEIBANI AND AMINI CASES AS EXAMPLES OF INDIVIDUALS BEING HELD WITHOUT, TO THE BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE, FORMAL CHARGES BEING BROUGHT AGAINST THEM. CHARGE SAID THAT WE DID NOT PRESUME TO INTERFERE IN IRAN'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS, BUT THAT WE HAD AN INTEREST IN SUCH MATTERS BOTH ON HUMAN RIGHTS GROUNDS AND BECAUSE THESE PEOPLE WERE EITHER CITIZENS OR OTHERWISE CONNECTED TO

5. THE CHARGE SAID THAT THE CASE OF SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HELD IN AHWAZ WAS ANOTHER SUCH INSTANCE. ONE MEMBER OF THIS GROUP, GHOLAM FALLAHI, WAS MARRIED TO A U.S. CITIZEN, WAS HIMSELF A PERMANENT RESIDENT AND HAD CLOSE FAMILY MEMBERS LIVING IN THE U.S. STORIES THAT THESE PEOPLE HAD BEEN EXECUTED HAD CAUSED GREAT ANXIETY IN THE U.S. (NOTE: THE MFA SEPT 3 RELEASED A STATEMENT DENYING THAT ANY OF THE GROUP'S MEMBERS HAD BEEN EXECUTED. WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO GET A COPY OF THE TEXT. END NOTE.) THE CHARGE REPEATED THAT WE DID NOT PRESUME TO COMMENT ON THE GUILT OR INNOCENCE OF THOSE INVOLVED, BUT STRESSED THAT WE BELIEVE THAT EVEN MEMBERS OF A MARXIST PARTY DESERVE DUE PROCESS. THE IMPRESSION IN THE U.S. THAT THEY WERE BEING DENIED THIS CONSTITUTED AN IMPEDIMENT TO THE DESIRE OF BOTH COUNTRIES TO IMPROVE OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

6. MINACHI LISTENED ATTENTIVELY THROUGHOUT THE PRESENTATION. HE ASKED SEVERAL SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ABOUT SHEIBANI AND SEEMED WILLING AT LEAST TO TRY TO DO SOMETHING FOR HIM. HE ALSO ASKED IF THE EMBASSY WOULD WANT TO SEND SOMEONE TO AHWAZ TO CHECK ON THE CONDITIONS UNDER THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY PEOPLE ARE BEING HELD IF ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE WORKED OUT. CHARGE RESPONDED AFFIRMATIVELY, INDICATING THAT SWIFT, AS EMBASSY'S OFFICER RESPONSIBLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS, WOULD BE PREPARED TO GO. MINACHI SAID THAT IT WOULD TAKE SEVERAL DAYS TO LOOK INTO THE FEASIBILITY OF THE VISIT, AND THAT HE WOULD BE IN TOUCH LATER.

7. COMMENT: MINACHI UNQUESTIONABLY UNDERSTANDS THE PROBLEM. ALSO, HE ALMOST CERTAINLY WOULD LIKE TO HELP. WE ARE SURE HE WILL DO WHAT HE CAN, BUT IT IS A SAD FACT THAT CONTROL OVER THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY IRAN DOES NOT LIE IN THE HANDS OF PEOPLE LIKE HIMSELF. TOMSETH

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF TEHRAN 09915

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FOR DOROTHY ROBINS-NOWRY, NEA

E.O. 12065: GDS 9/10/85 (GRAVES, JOHN)
SUBJECT: IRAN: COMMUNICATIONS ENVIRONMENT - EXPANDED PAPER

REFS: A. MCAFEE BRIEF, ROBINS-NOWRY-KOOB TELCON 9/8/79
B. TEHRAN 9174

1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUGGEST USE MCAFEE PAPER AS PRESENTLY CONSTITUTED UP TO LAST TWO SECTIONS WHICH CAN BE EXPANDED, EXPLAINED AS NEEDED. SUGGEST TWO ADDITIONS TO LIABILITY SECTION: 1) LINE TWO SHOULD READ "AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI WHO, IN ADDITION TO FATHERING IRAN'S CONSERVATIVE ISLAMIC POLICIES AND PRONOUNCEMENTS, IS STRONGLY PAN-ISLAMIC AND HOSTILE TO FUNDAMENTAL WESTERN CONCEPTS AND PRIORITIES." AND, 2) ADD FOLLOWING ITEM: "OUR LIMITED ACCESS TO SIGNIFICANT IRANIANS IN PRIVATE AND ACADEMIC SECTORS BECAUSE OF TREPIDATIONS REGARDING CONSEQUENCES OF CONTACT WITH AMERICANS, PARTICULARLY OFFICIAL AMERICANS."

3. IT IS IMPORTANT TO CONTEMPLATE IDEAS FOR "AREAS OF COMMUNICATION" DURING NEXT SIX MONTHS OR YEAR, BUT BELIEVE WE MUST PROCEED CAUTIOUSLY, LETTING IRANIANS SET PACE. TO GIVE SOME NOTION OF THE VARYING BUT DIFFICULT ATMOSPHERE WISH CITE EVENTS OF LAST FEW DAYS IN WHICH USICA SUCCESSFULLY ATTRACTED 16 SIGNIFICANT IRANIANS (INCLUDING ELEVEN EDITORS/WORKING JOURNALISTS) TO PAO RESIDENCE FOR AMICABLE EVENING OF DINNER, DIALOGUE, VCR SCREENING. THIS WAS FOLLOWED TWO DAYS LATER BY FRONT PAGE STORIES IN IRANIAN PRESS ATTACKING U.S. FOR CIA PLAN TO "DISMEMBER" IRAN (KURDISTAN/AZERBAIJAN). PAO AND COUNTRY OFFICER TRAVELED TO SHIRAZ AND WERE ABLE TO MEET WITH PROMINENT LOCAL LAWYER AND FORMER IAS BOARD MEMBER, BUT HE DECLINED RIDE IN SAME VEHICLE WITH USICA OFFICERS OR BE SEEN PUBLICLY WITH THEM. DISCREET MEETING WAS ARRANGED AT HOME OF THIRD PARTY.

4. WE BELIEVE MOST IMPORTANT NEED AT PRESENT TIME IS FOR A "SUPER-CAO" CUM IRANOLOGIST WITH FLUENT PERSIAN, WHO IS EXCELLENT CONTACT PERSON. SUCH A PERSON ESSENTIAL TO BRIDGE COMMUNICATION/CULTURAL GAP AND TO WORK TO REBUILD INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGES, PARTICULARLY IN ACADEMIC SECTOR AND PERHAPS EVEN AMONG ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP. SUGGEST CONTACT RICHARD COTTAM FOR SUGGESTIONS ON POTENTIAL CANDIDATES. ONE POSSIBILITY IS JERRY CLINTON, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, WHO IS A FORMER DIRECTOR OF AMERICAN INSTITUTE IRANIAN STUDIES.

6. IDEA ADVANCED REF B SHOULD ALSO BE PURSUED. BEST CONTACT YOUR END TO EXPLORE POSSIBILITIES IS MEHDI HAERI, WHO ORIGINATED IDEA AND IS PLUGGED INTO IRAN RELIGIOUS CIRCLES. HE HAS JUST RETURNED TO WASHINGTON FROM TEHRAN TO CONTINUE STUDIES AT GEORGETOWN. HENRY PRECHT KNOWS HIM AND CAN ARRANGE MEETING.
6. AS WE WILL REPORT SEPTEL, BELIEVE CHANCES EXCELLENT OF RESURRECTING IAS OPERATION IN SHIRAZ. WHILE EARLY RECOVERY OF BUILDING AND OTHER ASSETS REMAINS PROBLEMATICAL, BELIEVE WITH OR WITHOUT BUILDING (USE OF RENTAL QUARTERS POSSIBLE, IF NECESSARY), THIS 20 YEAR OLD (IN SHIRAZ) HIGHLY REGARDED INSTITUTION AND LANGUAGE CENTER CRUCIAL TO REBUILDING U.S.-IRAN RELATIONS IN THIS IMPORTANT CITY.

7. BY NEXT SPRING OR SUMMER BELIEVE THERE IS CHANCE THAT WE CAN AGAIN INVOLVE IRANIANS IN OUR INTERNATIONAL VISITOR PROGRAM, PARTICULARLY MULTI-REGIONAL PROGRAMS. JOURNALISM AREA SEEMS PARTICULARLY AUSPICIOUS.

8. IN RESPONSE TO SPECIFIC IDEAS DISCUSSED IN MEETING, WE OFFER FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS:

A. VISITS TO IRAN BY U.S. SCHOLARS AND PUBLIC FIGURES: SELECTIVE VISITS BY U.S. SCHOLARS BENEFICIAL, BUT FOR PRESENT PROBABLY SHOULD BE PRIVATELY ARRANGED FOR MAXIMUM BENEFIT (VISIBLE USG CONNECTION POTENTIALLY COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE AND DIFFICULT). THERE MAY BE EXCEPTIONS TO THIS GUIDELINE (E.G., VISIT BY WILLIAM GRIFFITH HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL), PARTICULARLY FOR APPROPRIATE SPECIALISTS IN FOREIGN POLICY AND POSSIBLY OTHER AREAS. VISITS BY PUBLIC FIGURES GOOD, BUT IF U.S.SPONSORED, POLICY IMPLICATIONS MUST BE CONSIDERED (REFER TO RESERVATIONS OUTLINED BASIC PAPER). IF PRIVATELY SPONSORED, INDIVIDUALS SHOULD HAVE CREDIBILITY AND RELEVANCE IN THE NEW IRAN (E.G., AMBASSADOR YOUNG) AND BE COMMITTED TO OBJECTIVE OF IMPROVED U.S.-IRAN RELATIONS.

B. IRANIAN RELIGIOUS LEADERS TO THE U.S. FOR HEJIRA ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS: CONCUR, BUT SUBMIT THAT RELIGIOUS LEADERS UNLIKELY TO ATTEND. MORE LIKELY IS
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ATTENDANCE BY IRANIAN ISLAMIC SCHOLARS (I.E., ACADEMICS). THIS IS ITSELF NOT UNDESIRABLE AND IN FACT HAS MUCH TO RECOMMEND IT AS SECOND CHOICE. FUNDING AND SPONSORSHIP SHOULD BE PRIVATELY ARRANGED THROUGH HEJIRA ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE AND SHOULD INCLUDE REPRESENTATION FROM OTHER COUNTRIES AS WELL.

C. IRANIAN SCHOLARS TO THE U.S.: UNTIMELY AT PRESENT (EXCEPT FOR FULBRIGHT PROGRAM), BUT DESIRABLE AT SOMEWHAT LATER JUNCTURE WHEN SITUATION MORE SETTLED AND UNIVERSITIES IN SESSION. SUGGEST USING PRIVATE AUSPICES WITH INTERNATIONAL MIX — E.G., SALZBURG SEMINAR, UNIVERSITY SPONSORED INTERNATIONAL FORA, ASPEN-TYPE SESSION (THOUGH ASPEN ITSELF INAPPROPRIATE DUE PAHLAVI CONNECTION).

D. IRANIAN STUDENT CONFERENCE: CAN VISUALIZE (BUT NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT) NAFSA SPONSORED IRANIAN STUDENT CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS PROBLEMS AFFECTING IRANIAN STUDENTS IN THE U.S. BELIEVE THIS WOULD INEVITABLY TAKE ON QUESTIONABLE POLITICAL OVERTONES GIVEN PRO-LEFT, ANTI-KHOMEINI STANCE OF SOME SECTORS OF IRANIAN STUDENT POPULATION HERE AND IN U.S.

9. BELIEVE WHEN STAFFING PERMITS, VOA SHOULD CONSIDER WORKING INTO PERSIAN BROADCASTING: 1) MORE MATERIAL ON EVENTS IN IRAN OUTSIDE THE POLITICAL SPHERE, 2) A SERIES ON IRANIAN ISLAMIC STUDIES AND CENTERS IN THE U.S. 3) INTERVIEWS WITH U.S. SCHOLARS (IRANOLOGISTS), OFFICIAL AND APPROPRIATE PUBLIC FIGURES (E.G., AMBASSADOR YOUNG, RAMSAY CLARK).

10. CHARGE CONCURS.

11. HOPE THIS HELPFUL YOUR PURPOSES. REQUEST COUNTRY OFFICER MCAFEE BE "INFO ADDRESSEE" ANY FURTHER COMMUNICATION THESE MATTERS WHILE ENROUTE. GRAVES
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U.S. Government Printing Office 1976—204-830

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CLASS: LIMITED OFFICIAL
CHRGE: STAT 9/16/79
APPRV: CHARGE:LBLAINGE
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CLEAR: NONE
DISTR: POL2 CHG CONS
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE TEHRAN 10098

FOR HENRY PRECHT (NEA/IRN)

E.O. 12065: N/A
TAGS: IR, SEDU
SUBJECT: SCHOOLING FOR MINISTER MINACHI'S SON

1. MINISTER OF NATIONAL GUIDANCE MINACHI'S PLANS TO ATTEND GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL THIS FALL IN THE SCHOOL OF MECHANICAL ENGINEERING. MINACHI'S SON ALI MINACHI HAS BEEN DELAYED IN ARRIVING IN US FOR SEPTEMBER 4 OPENING OF SCHOOL AND WILL NOW NOT ARRIVE IN US UNTIL ABOUT SEPTEMBER 26.

2. WOULD APPRECIATE DESK CHECKING WITH ADMISSIONS OFFICE OF GRADUATE SCHOOL TO ASSURE MINISTER MINACHI'S SON WILL STILL BE ACCEPTED. LAINGEN
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 243926

E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: IR, SEDU

SUBJECT: SCHOOLING FOR MINISTER MINACHI'S SON

REF: TEHRAN 10098

1. FINAL RE;ISTRATION AT GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY ENDED SEPTEMBER 17 FOR FALL SEMESTER, BUT UNIVERSITY HAS AGREED, ON EXCEPTIONAL BASIS, TO ADMIT ALI MINACHI AND TO ARRANGE AN APPROPRIATE PROGRAM FOR HIM, INCLUDING SPECIAL TUTORING IF NEEDED.

2. ALI MINACHI SHOULD CONTACT MR. WILLIAM SHANAHAN, MANAGER OF ENGINEERING ADMISSIONS, IN ROOM 103 AT 725 23RD STREET, N.W. IMMEDIATELY UPON HIS ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON. VANCE
BT
#3926

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Tehran, Iran

September 19, 1979

ear Mr. Minister:

The Embassy sent the following cable to the State epartment in Washington on September 16 regarding our son's late arrival to George Washington University:

"Minister of National Guidance Minachi's son plans to attend George Washington University Graduate School this fall in the school of mechanical engineering. Minachi's son Ali Minachi has been delayed in arriving in U.S. for September 4 opening of school and will now not arrive in U.S. until about Sept. 26.

"Would appreciate desk checking with Admissions Office of Graduate School to assure Minister Minachi's son will still be accepted."

he Embassy has now received the following reply from he State Department in Washington:

"Final registration at George Washington University ended September 17 for fall semester, but University has agreed, on exceptional basis, to admit Ali Minachi and to arrange an appropriate program for him, including special tutoring if needed.

"Ali Minachi should contact Mr. William Shanahan, Manager of Engineering Admissions, in room 103 at 725 23rd Street, N.W. immediately upon his arrival in Washington."

is Excellency,
Dr. Nasser Minachi,
Minister of National Guidance,
Tehran, Iran.

I hope this information will be helpful to you. Your son should take this letter with him when he goes to Washington to present to the Immigration Service on his arrival.

Sincerely,

L. Bruce Laingen
Charge d'Affaires, a.i.

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E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: SEDU, IR

SUBJECT: SCHOOLING FOR MINISTER MINACHI'S SON

REF: TEHRAN 10098, STATE 243926

1. (LOU-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. WE HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT MR, ALI MINIACHI HAS REGISTERED AT GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF ENGINEERING AND IS NOW ATTENDING CLASSES. CHRISTOPHER

BT

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E.O. 12065: GDS, 10/12/85 (PRECHT, HENRY)

TAGS: OTRA, IR

SUBJECT: PROPOSED VISIT

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. OTHER THINGS BEING EQUAL (I.E., NO HOSTILE DEMONSTRATIONS PLANNED) AND WITH YOUR PERMISSION, I WOULD LIKE FINALLY TO VISIT YOU, ARRIVING ON PAN AM 2 EVENING OF SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20, AND DEPARTING MORNING OF OCTOBER 26. WOULD WANT TO FILL EVERY WAKING MOMENT AND PLACE MYSELF COMPLETELY AT YOUR DISPOSAL FOR ACTIVITIES. OFFER FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS WHICH MAY, OF COURSE, BE IMPRACTICAL OR UNSUITABLE:

--CALLS ON MINATCHI AND YAZDI WHOM I MET IN PRE-REVOLUTION TIMES. ACCOMPANY YOU ON YOUR INITIAL CALL ON CHAMRAN IF YOU HAVE NOT ALREADY DONE THAT. SEE SOMEONE, POSSIBLY REZA SADR, ABOUT COMMERCIAL TANGLES AND OUR EFFORTS TO ASSIST WITH SETTLEMENTS.

--WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE TO CALL ON BEHESTI OR OTHER POLITICAL LEADERS OR ASTUTE OBSERVERS? IF FEASIBLE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO SEE SPOKESMEN FOR JEWISH AND BAHAI COMMUNITIES. HOW ABOUT A CALL ON LEFT-WING JEWS WHO SUPPORT REVOLUTION?
--SPEND ABOUT TWO DAYS OUTSIDE OF TEHRAN. OPEN TO IDEAS, BUT SUGGEST DRIVE TO ISFAHAN VIA SAVEH, KASHAN, COUPLE OF VILLAGES I KNOW ON FRIDAY; SPEND DAY IN ISFAHAN, RETURN VIA AIR SUNDAY MORNING.

--WOULD LIKE TO HAVE PRIVATE LUNCH WITH OLD FRIEND ALI REZA FARAHMAND AS IN PAST TIMES.

3. WILL BRING ANYTHING I CAN CARRY THAT YOU OR STAFF DESIRE. MARIAN OFFERS TO SHOP FOR ANN SWIFT AND FORMER CLASSMATES. VANCE
BT
#7795

Confidential Attachment

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Tehran, Iran

October 15, 1979

UNCLASSIFIED

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Dear Henry:

I noticed from your MemCon of September 17, 1979, that you have occasional contact with Mahmoud Foroughi. When you next see him I hope you will tell him that Penne and I remember him and his wife most fondly from our days in Kabul.

I agree with you; Foroughi is a real Persian gentleman. I hope you will tell him that is the way I remember him. Tell him also that I hope his family, which includes several children married to Americans, is well and prospering.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

L. Bruce Laingen
Charge d'Affaires, a.i.

CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

Henry Precht, Esquire,
Director for Iranian Affairs,
Bureau of Near Eastern and South
Asian Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

CHARGE:LBLAINGEN:EM
10/15/79

Charge
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File 157

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, D.C. 20520

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CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Ambassador Mahmoud Foroughi
Henry Precht, NEA/IRN

PLACE: State Department Dining Room

DATE: September 17, 1979

Foroughi is a classical Persian gentleman: cultured, exquisite manners, proud of his family and country, pragmatic. His father was twice Reza Shah's prime minister and the only man the old Shah could call on when his country was invaded in 1941. His brother served as Minister of Culture under Sharif-Emami and is now in prison. Mahmoud was a senior MFA official, Ambassador to the U.S. (early sixties) and Afghanistan. He resigned from the Ministry a few years ago because he could not tolerate the corruption. Last fall Hoveyda asked him to become Court Minister because they needed someone who would say "no" to the Shah. Foroughi imposed the condition that there be a real clean-up, including members of the royal family. The most serious offenders should be tried and executed. Foroughi was not chosen and left Iran later in the year. He has applied for U.S. citizenship.

Foroughi believes the ascendancy of mullahs is a passing phase, but he fears it may not be a short one. The mullahs are not equipped to handle complex affairs of state and the question is what kind of government will succeed them. He has "faith" that moderate nationalists will prevail, but he also fears the growing strength of the communists. I commented that the Shah's greatest sin was to deprive Iran of a generation of political leaders. Foroughi agreed, noting the Shah's father had done the same thing. It was tragic that there were no popular figures outside the clergy. In 1949-50 Sanjabi, Bazargan and other National Fronters were unknown. It took them about three years to build a following. That was the need now in Iran:

3-4 years of democracy to allow a new group of political leaders to emerge and be tested on the national scene. The danger was that the right or left would block political development.

I explained to Foroughi the outlines of the policy we were following towards Iran. He thought it important that men like Bazargan be strengthened, for they were decent, capable men who were Iran's only hope now. The U.S. had been badly hurt by the failure to follow through on the Administration's human rights policy last fall. U.S. support for human rights had been a major stimulus for the oppositionists; they were disappointed when that support was not apparent as the opposition intensified. Much damage was also done to the U.S. by Ambassador Zahedi. Every time he returned to Iran to give bad advice to the Shah, America's friends cringed because the Iranian public saw Zahedi as Washington's messenger.

I told Foroughi of the hard problem the U.S. faced in dealing with the Shah's desire to come here. Was it possible the Shah would renounce his claim to the throne? Foroughi said we had to recognize that the Shah was basically a weak person whose fortunes had been saved by others at every crisis. If the PGOI offered him a deal, he might renounce. But there was no prospect of that as there had been in Afghanistan. The Shah was bitterly hated. Iranians might think they were better off three years ago, but no one regretted the Shah's departure. Foroughi thought it would be very, very bad for the U.S. and for the West if the Shah settled here. Iranians would not understand. They would see our acceptance as an act against Iran and against our own long-term interests. Let the Shah go to South Africa. Everyone knew of his close ties with that regime. He had not been a true friend of the U.S. and had used us for his own advantage.

Foroughi commented that he was in touch with the "most moderate" of the four rebel groups in Afghanistan. Their representative called him from London for advice. His advice was, "Don't set up an Islamic Republic." Unfortunately, he said, that seemed an imperative of all of the Afghan oppositionists.

Drafted: NEA/IRN:HPrecht:amp
9/20/79

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E.O. 12065: GDS 10/15/85 (SWIFT, ELIZABETH A.) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM, IR, PINT
SUBJECT: LAWYER DISCUSSES IRANIAN HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. ACTING POL COUNSELOR HAD LUNCHEON OCTOBER 10 WITH A. K. LAHIDJI, PROMINENT LAWYER AND VICE CHAIRMAN OF IRAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE (PROTECT SOURCE). ATMOSPHERE OF LUNCHEON WAS VERY GLOOMY AS LAHIDJI FELT THAT HIS AND OTHER MODERNISTS HOPES FOR IRAN'S REVOLUTION HAD BEEN THWARTED AND HE DID NOT SEE HOW THEY COULD BE PUT BACK ON THE TRACK.

3. LAHIDJI IS CLOSE FRIEND OF NAZIH, MATIN-DAFTARI AND NEW MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE HASSAN HABIBI. HE IS ALSO CLOSE TO FON MIN YAZDI WHO HAS OFFERED HIM A JOB IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WHICH HE HAS REFUSED. HE WAS VERY ACTIVE IN THE LAWYERS ASSOCIATION BEFORE THE REVOLUTION AND AFTER FEBRUARY WAS ONE OF A SMALL GROUP OF LAWYERS WHO HELPED TO DRAFT THE NEW DRAFT CONSTITUTION FOR KHOMEINI.

4. GENERAL CONDITIONS: LAHIDJI SAID IT WAS NOW IN IRAN IMPOSSIBLE FOR A LAWYER TO WORK. HE AND THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE THE NIGHT BEFORE HAD SERIOUSLY DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY OF DISOLVING THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. THE REVOLUTIONARY COURT SYSTEM IS VERY POWERFUL. LAHIDJI SAID HE HAD OPPOSED FROM THE BEGINNING THE IDEA OF REVOLUTIONARY COURTS AS HE FEARED THEY WOULD BECOME PERMANENT INSTITUTIONS. IN THESE COURTS THERE ARE NO PROTECTIONS FOR THE DEFENDENT. THE SESSIONS ARE SUMMARY, TAKING PLACE IN 2-3 HOURS WITH NO TIME ALLOWED FOR THE DEFENDANT TO GATHER DOCUMENTS TO COMBAT CHARGES LODGED AGAINST THEM. LAWYERS ARE NOT ALLOWED IN THESE COURTS. LAHIDJI WAS THE LAWYER FOR A FORMER GENERAL BUT HAD NOT BEEN GIVEN ACCESS TO HIM FOR OVER TWO MONTHS. HE HHD NO IDEA OO WHEN THE GENERALS CASS MIGHT COME TO TRIAL. THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION HAD WRITTEN NUMEROUS LETTERS TO KHOMEINI AND TO GOVERNMENT LEADERS PROTESTING THESE CONDITIONS BUT HAD RECEIVED NO REPLY. IT WAS NOW BECOMING HIGHLY DANGEROUS TO EXPRESS SUCH VIEWS. HE POINTED TO THE CASE OF HASSAN NAZIH, AND STATED THAT IF, FOR INSTANCE, HE WERE TO WRITE ARTICLES AGAINST THE PGOI OR TO ACTUALLY ATTEMPT TO DEFEND A FORMER SUPPORTER OF THE SHAH AT HIS TRIAL. HE MIGHT WELL FIND HIMSELF WITH FALSE CHARGES LODGED AGAINST HIM AS HAD NAZIH.

5. COMMENTING ON THE LACK OF POWER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, LAHIDJI POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS THE JOB OF THE PROSECUTOR GENERAL OF THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT NOT THE REVOLUTIONARY COURT PROSECUTOR TO INVESTIGATE CHARGES SUCH AS THOSE LODGED AGAINST NAZIH. SHAHSHAHANI, THE PROSECUTOR, HAD BEEN POWERLESS, AND HAD NOT EVEN RAISED A PROTEST. LAHIDJI PLAINLY THOUGHT THE COURT SYSTEM WOULD BECOME INCREASINGLY ISLAMIC, THAT THE REVOLUTIONARY COURTS WITH THEIR SUMMARY JUSTICE WERE HERE TO STAY AT LEAST AS LONG AS KHOMEINI WAS IN POWER, AND THERE WOULD BE NO PLACE FOR WESTERN-EDUCATED LAWYERS UNDER THE NEW SYSTEM.

6. DURING DISCUSSION, POL OFFICER EXPRESSED HER CONCERN FOR WELFARE OO MAAIN-DAATARI AND SAID SHE HOPED HE WAS SAAE. LAHIDJI SAID THAT MATIN.DAFTARI WAS IN FAR WORSE TROUBLE THAN NAZIH AS DAFTARI NO LONGER HAD THE PROTECTION OO PEOPLE LIKE BAZARGAN OR SHARIATTMADARI. LAHIDJI SAID THAT MATIN-DAFTARI WAS AN EXTREMELY CLOSE FRIEND BUT HIS CURRENT TROUBLES WERE HIS OWN FAULT. HE HAD RUINED HIS CREDIBILITY WITH MODERATE LEADERS OF THE PGOI LIKE BAZARGAN BY BECOMING TOO CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE LEFT. MATIN-DAFTARI HAD ALLOWED LEFTIST LEADERS INTO HIS NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT AND HAD PERMITED HIMSELF TO BE PUSHED INTO EXTREME POSITIONS BY THEIR ADVICE. OVER THE PAST FOUR MONTHS HE HAD USED HIS ORGANIZATION TO PROTECT THE FEDAYAN AND HAL ALSO TRIED TO PROTECT THOSE ENGAGED IN LOCAL AUTONOMY MOVEMENTS IN KURDESTAN, KUZESTAN AND THE TURKOMAN SAHRA. THIS HAD ALIENATED HIS FORMER PROTECTORS LIKE BAZARGAN. WHEN THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT MOVED AGAINST HIM AFTER THE DEMONSTRATIONS ON PRESS FREEDOM AUGUST 11, HE HAD NO PROTECTION. COMMENT: LAHIDJI DID NOT SAY BUT SEEMED TO INDICATE MATIN-DAFTARI MIGHT STILL BE IN IRAN.EMBASSY HAS ALSO, HOWEVER, BEEN TOLD BY AN IRANIAN PRESS CONTACT THAT DAFTARI IS IN GERMANY.

7. EMBOFF TRIED TO DRAW LAHIDJI OUT ON WHAT HE FELT WOULD BE BEST WAY FOR USG TO SUPPORT EFFORTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IMPROVEMENTS IN IRAN. ALTHOUGH HE WAS NOT COMPLETELY CLEAR ON THE QUESTION, HE SEEMED TO FAVOR QUIET BEHIND THE SCENES PRESSURE ON MEN LIKE BAZARGAN AND YAZDI TO ANY MORE PUBLIC APPROACH. LAHIDJI, HOWEVER, SEEMED TO
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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 1099

HAVE LITTLE RESPECT (OTHER THAN PERSONAL) FOR BAZARGAN WHO HE SAW AS WEAK, WELL INTENTIONED AND TOTALLY POWERLESS. COMMENT: EMBASSY HAD BEEN TRYING TO CONTACT LAHIDJI FOR SEVERAL WEEKS. ALTHOUGH HE HAS BEEN IN AND OUT OF TOWN, IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT THE MEETING SUDDENLY WAS ACHIEVED ALMOST IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE NEWS OF CHARGE'S TALK WITH SABAGHIAN ON EXECUTIONS OF THE SENATORS HIT THE PRESS. LAINGEN
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U.S. Government Printing Office: 1976—204-830

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CLASS: CONFIDENTIAL
CHRGE: STAT 10/15/79
APPRV: CHARGE:LBLAINGEN
DRFTD: POL:EASWIFT:GO
CLEAR: NONE
DISTR: POL2 CHG ICA
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LIMDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/15/85 (SWIFT, ELIZABETH A.) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, IR
SUBJECT: INTERNAL OPPOSITION FORMING?

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. AT LUNCH OCTOBER 10, TEHRAN LAWYER A. K. LAHIDJI (PROTECT SOURCE) DISCUSSED HIS VIEWS ON POLITICAL SCENE IN TEHRAN WITH ACTING POL COUNSELOR. A MODERATE SECULAR SUPPORTER OF THE REVOLUTION AGAINST THE SHAH, LAHIDJI IS VERY DISAPPOINTED WITH KHOMEINI'S GOVERNMENT AND PLAINLY SEEKING A MEANS TO EXERCISE MORE INFLUENCE ON IT.

3. LAHIDJI SAID THAT KHOMEINI PRESENTLY CONTROLS THE MASSES IN IRAN AND THERE IS LITTLE MODERATE INTELLECTUALS LIKE HIMSELF CAN DO TO CHECK KHOMEINI'S CREATION OF A TOTALLY ISLAMIC STATE. KHOMEINI, LIKE THE SHAH BEFORE HIM, IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY ISOLATED AND SURROUNDED BY YES MEN. MOST OF HIS ADVISORS ARE WEAK LIKE BAZARGAN OR OPPORTUNISTS LIKE CHAMRAN AND SABAGHIAN. AYATOLLAH BEHESHTI WAS WESTERN ORIENTED BUT NOT VERY STRONG AND YAZDI IS ALSO VERY AMBITIOUS.

4. LAHIDJI POINTED OUT HE HAD ORIGINALLY SUPPORTED KHOMEINI BUT THAT KHOMEINI HAD CHANGED SINCE LAHIDJI VISITED HIM IN PARIS. AT THAT TIME, KHOMEINI TOLD THE MODERATES THAT THE CLERGY SHOULD STAY OUT OF POLITICS. LAHIDJI SAID THAT HE AND SEVERAL OTHER LAWYERS (INCLUDING THE NEW MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE HASSAN HABIBI) HAD WRITTEN THE ORIGINAL DRAFT CONSTITUTION ALONG WESTERN LINES. HABIBI HAD TAKEN THE DRAFT TO KHOMEINI JUST BEFORE KHOMEINI LEFT TEHRAN FOR QOM. KHOMEINI SAID THAT HE LIKED THE DRAFT BUT WISHED TO DISCUSS IT WITH RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN QOM. THESE LEADERS OBJECTED TO THE SECULAR DRAFT AND WHEN KHOMEINI RETURNED THE DRAFT TO THE LAWYERS SEVERAL WEEKS LATER IT HAD BEEN CHANGED TO GIVE IT A MUCH MORE ISLAMIC FLAVOR. THE LAWYERS INCORPORATED THESE CHANGES AND THE DRAFT, WHICH LAHIDJI FELT WAS ACCEPTABLE, WAS SENT TO THE COUNCIL OF EXPERTS WHICH HAS NOW ALTERED IT OUT OF RECOGNITION. LAHIDJI FELT THAT KHOMEINI WAS DEFINITELY BEHIND THE MUCH MORE ISLAMIC CONSTITUTION BEING PRODUCED BY THE COUNCIL, AND, IN PARTICULAR, BEHIND THE IDEA OF VELAYAT-E-FAQIH. ABSOLUTE POWER CORRUPTS ABSOLUTELY AND KHOMEINI HAS APPARENTLY DECIDED HE MUST RUN THE COUNTRY HIMSELF.

5. LAHIDJI SAID THAT WHILE KHOMEINI'S SUPPORT OF THE MASSES STILL MAKES HIM THE MOST POWERFUL MAN IN IRAN,

CONFIDENTIAL //LIMDIS// TEHRAN 10985

CONFIDENTIAL //LIMDIS// TEHRAN 10

HE HAS ALIENATED ALL THE MODERNIST GROUPS. OVER THE PAST TWO WEEKS THESE GROUPS HAVE BEEN HOLDING TALKS AIMED AT CONSOLIDATING THEIR FORCES INTO ONE GROUP WHICH MIGHT THEN BE ABLE TO FORCE KHOMEINI TO RECONSIDER THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION. THE ORGANIZERS OF THE GROUP ARE HOPEFUL THAT THEY CAN PUT TOGETHER A FRONT OF ISLAMIC MODERATES AND SECULAR LEADERS. THEY DO NOT INTEND TO INCLUDE NON-ISLAMIC LEFTISTS OR FEDAYAN IN THEIR EFFORTS AS THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SHARIAT-MADARI'S SUPPORTERS AND THE LEFTISTS ARE TOO GREAT. THE NEW GROUP WOULD BE COMPOSED OF MODERATE MOSLEMS UNDER THE SHARIAT-MADARI CONNECTED MUSLIM PEOPLE'S REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE MODERATE SECULARISTS OF KAZEM HABIBI'S NATIONAL FRONT AND JOMBESH OF HASSAN JAVADI. IN ADDITION THESE GROUPS ARE TALKING WITH THE MUJAHEDIN-E-KHALQ AS THEY CONSIDER THE MUJAHEDIN ONE OF THE STRONGEST FORCES IN IRAN. COMMENT: EMBASSY HAS BEEN PICKING UP RUMORS THAT THE MODERATE FORCES WERE TRYING TO GET ORGANIZED. WE HAD NOT HEARD THAT THEY WERE TRYING TO BRING THE MUJAHEDIN IN UNDER THEIR UMBRELLA. THIS MAKES SENSE, HOWEVER, BOTH FOR THE MODERATES AND FOR THE MUJAHEDIN WHO LOST A MAIN SOURCE OF SUPPORT IN THE RELIGIOUS HIERARCHY AT THE DEATH OF TALEGHANI. THERE MAY WELL BE A GROWING SHARIAT-MADARI/MUJAHEDIN LINK AS REPORTEDLY THE MUSLIM PEOPLE'S REPUBLICAN PARTY'S PAPER KHALQ-E-MOSALMAN IS NOW BEING PRINTED WITH MUJAHEDIN HELP. (EMBASSY CANNOT CONFIRM THIS REPORT.) A SHARIAT-MADARI/MUJAHEDIN/NATIONAL FRONT COALITION COULD BE QUITE FORMIDABLE. IT WOULD NEED LEADERSHIP, HOWEVER, AND EMBASSY IS DUBIOUS THAT SHARIAT-MADARI WOULD BE WILLING TO COME DOWN FROM HIS MUD-BRICK TOWER TO FIGHT IN THE TRENCHES. EVEN IF HE WERE TEMPERAMENTALLY SUITED FOR LEADING A POLITICAL OPPOSITION,(WHICH HE IS NOT), HIS PAST RELATIONS WITH THE SHAH'S REGIME MAKE HIM VULNERABLE TO THREATS TO REVEAL THESE ASSOCIATIONS. FURTHERMORE, FEW CLERGYMEN ARE WILLING TO MAKE AN OPEN BREAK WITH KHOMEINI AND FACE CHARGES OF WEAKENING REVOLUTIONARY UNITY. LAINGEN
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S E C R E T NOFORN
THIS IS AN INFO REPORT, NOT FINALLY EVALUATED INTEL
THIS IS IR 6 872 0094 79
1. (U) COUNTRY: IRAN (IR)
2. (U) REPORT NUMBER: 6 872 0094 79
3. (U) TITLE: COMMENTS BY IRANIAN DIPLOMAT ON HOME COUNTRY (U)
4. (U) PROJECT NUMBER: N/A
5. (U) DATE OF INFORMATION: 791016
6. DATEOF REPORT: 791019
7. (U) DATE AND PLACE OF ACQUISITION: 791016, OSLO, NORWAY
8. (U) REFERENCE: INITIATIVE
9. (U) ASSESSMENT: SOURCE: F, INFO: 6
10. (U) ORIGINATOR: USDAO OSLO NORWAY
11. (U) REQUEST EVAL: YES
12./13. (U) PREARING OFFICER/APPROVING AUTHORITY: DANIEL J. BAUMGARTNER, COL, USAF, DATT
14. (U) SOURCE: OTS
15. (U) SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: NOFORN CAVEAT USED DUE TO SENSITIVITY OF INFORMATION; DIRC-NO
16. (C/NOFORN) SUMMARY: THIS REPORT FORWARDS COMMENTS MADE BY A SENIOR IRANIAN DIPLOMAT PERTAINING TO THE BASIC REASONS FOR THE FALL OF THE SHAH OF IRAN, CURRENT GOVERNMENT AND FUTURE POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENTS IN IRAN.
22. (C/NOFORN) DETAILS: THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS WERE OFFERED BY A SENIOR IRANIAN DIPLOMAT ASSIGNED TO OSLO AT A SOCIAL FUNCTION HOSTED BY SRF OSLO OFFICIAL. 85

1. (S/NOFORN) ON THE BASIC REASONS FOR THE FALL OF THE SHAH OF IRAN: THE DISHONEST SENIOR GOVT PEOPLE SURROUNDING THE SHAH AND THE US HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRAM ARE THE PRIMARY BASIC REASONS. THERE ARE ONLY TWO CLASSES OF PEOPLE IN IRAN: THE RICH AND THE POOR. THE POOR HAVE ALWAYS KNOWN THE RICH WERE GETTING RICHER IN PART BY STEALING WHAT BELONGED TO THE POOR, BUT THEY FELT THEY COULD DO NOTHING ABOUT IT AND DIDN'T, UNTIL THEY BEGAN HEARING ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS. IT WAS ONLY THEN THAT KHOMEINI WAS ABLE TO ATTRACT A FOLLOWING THAT WOULD EVENTUALLY OVERTHROW THE SHAH. AS IT TURNED OUT, WE TRADED AN EDUCATED DICTATOR FOR AN UNEDUCATED DICTATOR.
2. (S/NOFORN) ON THE CURRENT GOVT: KHOMEINI WILL NOT LAST FOR MORE THAN TWO YEARS. WE ALWAYS THOUGHT OF THE CLERGY AS PARASITES, AND NOW THEY ARE RUNNING THE COUNTRY. KHOMEINI IS AN OLD MAN NOT USED TO ANY TYPE OF WORK. HE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO TAKE THE PRESSURE OF HIS POSITION AND WILL EITHER DIE OR BECOME SENILE. IF THE LATTER OCCURS, THE PEOPLE WILL KNOW, AND THEY WILL CEASE TO FOLLOW HIM. HE IS RUINING THE COUNTRY. THE POOR HAVE LESS NOW THAT THEY DID BEFORE AND UNREST IN THE COUNTRY WILL SURELY NOT SUBSIDE UNTIL THINGS GET BETTER AND PROGRESS IS APPARENT. WHEN ASKED ABOUT CURRENT CONDITIONS IN THE GOVT, HE SAID IT WAS DIFFICULT TO KNOW BECAUSE HE HAD NO DIRECT CONTACT WITH IRAN AND RECEIVED MOST OF HIS INFORMATION VIA BBC NEWSCASTS.
3. (S/NOFORN) ON FUTURE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN IRAN: WHEN KHOMEINI'S INFLUENCE BEGINS FALLING OFF OR HE DIES, THE INDIVIDUAL CONSIDERED, AT THIS TIME, MOST LIKELY TO BE ABLE TO FORM A NEW GOVT WOULD BE THE PRESENT, AMERICAN EDUCATED MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, EBRAHIM YAZDI. HE IS WELL THOUGHT OF AND HAS A POWER BASE FROM WHICH TO BEGIN. WHEN SOURCE WAS ASKED HOW HE FELT ABOUT YAZDI, HE REPLIED THAT YAZDI IS AN EDUCATED MAN AND WOULD BE BETTER FOR THE COUNTRY THAN KHOMEINI.
ORIGINATOR'S COMMENTS: (C/NOFORN) SOURCE WAS FRANK AND OPEN DURING CONVERSATION WITH RO AND ACTUALLY SEEMED TO ENJOY DISCUSSING IRAN'S PROBLEMS. ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT COME RIGHT OUT AND SAY IT, HE IMPLIED THAT WHEN HIS TOUR IS FINISHED HE PROBABLY WILL NOT RETURN TO IRAN AND JUDGING FROM HIS COMMENTS PERTAINING TO HIS GOVT, RO BELIEVES HE WOULD OPT NOT TO RETURN.
DECL: 19 OCT 1985
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eport on the weekly meeting of
HE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF THE MOSLEM PEOPLE OF IRAN
eld on Friday October19,1979 at
the party headquarters in downtown Tehran
prepared by Alireza JAHAN-SHAHI

The weekly meeting of the RPMPI last Friday was the fifth or the sixth such meetings the party has staged in recent weeks, and according to people who have attended all these weekly meetings, there has been an impressive increase in the number of people attending .The first meeting supposedly attracted only about one hundred people while the meeting this last Friday saw more than 1,500 people tyrning up for the meeting.

The main theme of speeches delivered at the meeting by several top RPMPI officers was nothing but the issue of "Valayate Faghih". To be sure, all the speakers were critical of the way the Assembly of Experts had approved the relative clause in the Constitution about Valayate Faghih.

The first speaker was Rahmatollah MOGHADDAM-MARAGHEI, who is a member of the Assembly of Experts from Azarbaijan province. "The Iranian Revolution was executed not by one particular group or class of people but rather all the Iranian masses, students, workers and intelectuals participated in it, but in the last stages of this revolution, the religious community (of Iran) managed to play its historic role and take over the leadership of the revolution under the guidance of Imam Khomeini," Moghaddam-Maraghei said.

This reference to Imam Khomeini was in fact one of the very few references made directly to Khomeini. For most of the evening, speakers, including Moghaddam-Maraghei himself, avoided referring to Khomeini.

Moghaddam-Maraghei was critical of Valayate faghih and as an example of the kind of potential problems this provision of the Iranian constitution could cause in the future, Maraghei said: "Suppose we have a Fgahih as the highest authority of the country and , as the Assembly of Experts has approved he is the supreme commander of the country's armed forces. Suppose we have some kind of trouble in urdistan where the majority of the people are not Shiites and are followers of the Sunni sect of Islam. If the Faghih decides to dispatch the Iranian armed forces to Kurdistan to deal with the unrest,' people in Kurdistan could rightly say that what is happening is in factg the Shiite army coming on the direct orders of the Shiite religious leader to annihilate the Sunni people in Kurdistan. This could be the beginning of a secterian war in our country."

The second speaker was the RPMPI's secretary-general Dr. ALIZADEH(no first name available at the moment). He shocked the audience by starting his speech with the famous "Khoda, Shah, Mihan"(God, Shah, Coutry) slogan of the bygone days of monarchy.

"The deposed Shah tried for so many years to obtain for himself a serries of authorities and privilages and powers to do certain things, bjt he was not successful in getting all that he wanted; now that we have' had our revolution what has happened is that we have piled all those special authorities and privilages and powers that the Shah was seeking high on a platter and we are about to present it to the Faghih. This is not what the' Iranian people revolted for. True, if the Faghih would be Imam Khomeini, there is no question, but how could we be sure that after Khomeini a person with similar qualifications would take over the religious leadership and thus become Faghih of the time ? This (clause about Valayate Faghih) is an act of treason against the future generations of Iranian people; we had a revolution not in order to prepare the ground for a different kind of despotism."

After these speeches, I went behind the podium to talk with Moghaddam Maraghei and several other of the party officials. In this conversation, Maraghei was saying that even the religious leadership has now realized that they will not be able to sell the matter of Valayate Faghih to the Iranian people in its present form. "The Assembly of Experts has decided to start a new debate on this issue and I hope that some kind of improvement would be possible in this respect," he added.

One of Maraghei's associates, a Mojtahed who was dressed in the latest fashion of the West, was of the opinion that nowhere in Holy Koran is there any direct or indirect reference to Valayate Faghih. "These people are starting a whole new religon of their own with all these nonesense about valayate Faghih," he WAS SAYING.

In the past several weeks, an interesting development has been the entrance of the young H.E. Ahmad Khomeini into the debate about Valayate Faghih. He announced his entrance with a letter to president of the Assembly of Experts, Ayatollah Montazeri, asking what would be the case if the Faghih of the time happens to be an Iraqi, a Kuwait or a Pakistani ? Would he still be the highest authority and the supreme commander of the armed forces in Iran? the young Khomeini asked.

Montazeri replied that in such a case, the faghih will have to obtain Iran an citizenship before he can assume the authorities provided for him in the constitution.

In his second letter to Montazeri, while stressing his support for the idea of Valayate faghih, the young Khomeini has said that the limits and bounds of this issue will have to be clearly defined in order to avoid future confusion.

"As you know it very well, one cannot say that a Faghih will have to be an Iranian and there is no such prerequisite in any book of faghh that we know of. What has to be noted is not who the Iranian shiites are regarding as the most learned faghih of time, but rather who the majority of the Shiites of the world regard as the most learned faghih of the time. You know that there are between 100 to 150 million shiites in the world of whome the Iranian shiites number only about 27 million. On the other hand, the Najaf(holy city in Iraq) seat of shiite is much better known in the world than anywhere in Iran, i.e. Qom. And most Shiites outside Iran follow the Najaf Shiite leadership. As it happens, there are Iranian Shiite personalities residing in Najaf, but what happens if the Iraqi government decides to kick out all Iranians including the Shiite religious leadership from Najaf. In this case, the leading Shiite personality in Najaf becomes an Iraqi and he will command the highest following in the world of Shiites.

"You have said that the Faghih will HAVE TO come to Iran. According to the approvals of the Assembly, it is for the faghih to say what HAS TO or HAS NOT TO taken place, so the laws and regulations approved by the Assembly could not say that the Faghih will have to come to Iran. It is his decision, and if he decides not to come to Iran, does thism mean that he will lose the authroty of the faghih of the time ?

So far, there has not been any replied from Ayatollah Montazeri.

P.S. In the Friday meeting of RHMPI this week, a man from the crowd sent a note to Moghaddam Maraghei, asking if he could take the podium and speak to the audiebce. He was granted this chance and he really managed to work the crowd into a slogan-shouting mood. "The Islam we all voted for in the referendum was the Islamm of Dr. Ali Shariati, and not the Islam of....." the people at the meeting really loved this and they cheered the man wildly for several minites. Obviously, he was leaving out the name of Khomeini in what he said.

end.

october 21, 79

alireza JAHAN-SHAHI

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RUQMRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 0401
RUSBLK/AMEMBASSY KABUL 0383
RUQMKW/AMEMBASSY KUWAIT 0351
RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 0467
RUQMAM/AMEMBASSY MANAMA 0312
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 0348
RUQMMT/AMEMBASSY MUSCAT 0221
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF TEHRAN 11319

E.O. 12065: GDS 10/25/85 (TOMSETH, VICTOR L.) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, PINR, IR
SUBJECT: MODERATION: DOES IT HAVE A CHANCE?

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. SUMMARY: THE MODERATE IRANIAN POLITICAL PARTIES, WHICH WERE ACTIVE DURING THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION AND WHICH HAVE A LONG HISTORY OF OPPOSITION TO THE SHAH, HAVE BEEN PUSHED INTO THE BACKGROUND BY THOSE INDIVIDUAL AND GROUPS WHO FOLLOW A NARROW AND AUTHORITARIAN INTERPRETATION OF ISLAM. WITHIN THE PAST FEW WEEKS, MODERATE GROUPS WHO FAVOR A MORE BALANCED SOCIETY RESEMBLING A WESTERN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY, HAVE BECOME MORE VOCAL. WHILE NOT DIRECTLY CRITICIZING AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI, THEY HAVE FOCUSED THEIR CRITICISM ON SOME OF THE OBVIOUS FAILURES OF THE PRESENT REGIME. THE POLITICAL POSITION OF THESE GROUPSIS STILL PRECARIOUS. IT EXPRESSES ITSELF THROUGH A FEW SECULAR SPOKESMEN, SOME LIBERAL CLERICS, AND SOME SMALL NEWSPAPERS. ALTHOUGH STILL NOT A MAJOR FORCE ON THE IRANIAN POLITICAL SCENE, THESE GROUPS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ORGANIZE THEMSELVES ENOUGH TO EXPRESS IDEAS CONTRARY TO THOSE OF THE RULING ESTABLISHMENT. END SUMMARY.

3. THE ROLE OF SECULAR AND CLERICAL MODERATES--THE HEIRS IS STILL A MATTER OF DEBATE. SINCE THE REVOLUTION FIGURES SUCH AS MATIN-DAFTARI NAZIH, FORUHAR,SANJABI, AND BAZARGAN HIMSELF HAVE BEEN OVERSHADOWED BY KHOMEINI AND BY HIS ALLIES WHO SHARE HIS VISION OF A THEOCRATIC IRAN. NOT ALL OF THESE SUPPORTERS OF KHOMEINI ARE CLERICS; THEY INCLUDE THE "SECULAR MULLAHS" SUCH AS QOTBZADEH, YAZDI, CHAMRAN ABATABA'I AND OTHERS. THIS GROUP HAS DOMINATED THE G RNMENT, THE PRESS, THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL, AN HE COUNCIL OF EXPERTS. IT

HAS HARRASSED AND IGNORED ITS OPPONENTS. BAZARGAN REMAINS POWERLESS; MATIN-DAFTARI AND NAZIH ARE IN HIDING; FORUHAR IS IGNORED; AND SANJABI QUIT HIS JOB IN DISGUST AND LEFT THE COUNTRY.

4. ALTHOUGH THE POSITION OF THE MODERATE PARTIES IS STILL VERY FRAGILE, IN RECENT WEEKS THEY HAVE SHOWN SOME SIGNS OF LIFE. ALTHOUGH THEIR MOST IMPORTANT ORGANS, INCLUDING THE NEWSPAPER AYANDEGAN AND THE POPULAR HUMOR MAGAZINE AHANGAR, WERE SUPPRESSED IN AUGUST, THEY HAVE BEGUN PUBLISHING SMALL PAPERS SUCH AS KHALQ-E-MOSALMAN (FROM THE MUSLIM REPUBLICAN PEOPLES' PARTY); JONBESH (PUBLISHED BY ALI ASGHAR HAJ SEYYID JAVADI), JEBHEH-YE-AZADI FROM THE IRAN PARTY AND AZADI FROM THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT. ALTHOUGH THE CIRCULATION OF THESE PAPERS IS LIMITED AND THEY CARRY MUCH LESS INFLUENCE THAN THE THREE MAJOR DAILIES (KAYHAN, ETTELAAT, AND BAMDAD) THEY DO OFFER SUBSTANTIAL AND CRITICAL COMMENTARY ON EVENTS -- A COMMENTARY OFTEN AT VARIANCE WITH THE OFFICIAL VERSION.

5. FOR THE PAST SIX WEEKS, THE MUSLIM REPUBLICAN PEOPLES PARTY (MPRP) HAS ORGANIZED FRIDAY AFTERNOON MEETINGS AT ITS TEHRAN HEADQUARTERS. ALTHOUGH THE FIRST MEETING ATTRACTED ONLY ABOUT 100 PEOPLE, EMBASSY POLITICAL OFFICER AND POLITICAL ASSISTANT ATTENDED OCTOBER 19 MEETING AND FOUND AN OVERFLOW OF OVER 1500. THE CROWD WAS LAAGELY MIDDLE-CLASS AND WELL-EDUCATED. THERE WERE MANY WOMEN, SOME VEILED, A FEW CLERICS.THE SPEAKERS INCLUDED AHMAD ALIZADEH, THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE MPRP,AND RAHMATULLAH MOQQADAM-MARAGHE'I, LEADER OF THE RADICAL MOVEMENT AND EAST AZARBAIJAN DELEGATE TO THE COUNCIL OF PT
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U.S. Government Printing Office 1976—204-830

MOVEMENT AND EAST AZARBAIJAN DELEGATE TO THE COUNCIL OF EXPERTS. ALTHOUGH THE AUDIENCE AND SPEAKERS HAD NO AFFECTION FOR THE OLD REGIME, THERE WERE FEW MENTIONS OF AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI, AND NO ANTI-AMERICAN STATEMENTS.

6. THE SPEAKERS ELICITED THE GREATEST RESPONSE BY THEIR ATTACKS ON AKHUNDBAZI (CLERICAL MEDDLING), ON THE COUNCIL OF EXPERTS,AND ON ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH A THEOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP THROUGH THE VELAYAT-E-FAQIH. ONE OF THE SPEAKERS FOUND THE CROWD'SPULSE WHEN HE SAID, "WE WANT THE ISLAM OF DR. SHAR'IATI; WE DON'T WANT THE ISLAM OF.....)" AND LEFT THE END EMPTY FOR THE CROWD TO FILL IN. BOTH MOQQADAM-MARAGHE'I AND ALIZADEH WERE CRITICAL OF THE VELAYAT-E-FAQIH. THE LATTER SAID, "THIS CLAUSE IS AN ACT OF TREASON AGAINST FUTURE GENERATIONS OF IRANIAN PEOPLE. WE HAD A REVOLUTION NOT TO PREPARE THE GROUND FOR A DIFFERENT KIND OF DESPOTISM." SPEAKING PRIVATELY AFTER THE MEETING, MOQQADAM-MARAGHE'I SAID THAT EVEN THE RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP HAS NOW REALIZED THAT IT WILL NOT BE ABLE TO SELL THE VELAYAT-E-FAQIH TO THE IRANIAN PEOPLE IN ITS PRESENT FORM. "THE COUNCIL OF EXPERTS HAS DECIDED TO REOPEN DEBATE ON THIS ISSUE. I HOPE THAT SOME KIND OF IMPROVEMENT WILL BE POSSIBLE."

7. THE MODERATES, IN CRITICISING VELAYAT-E-FAQIH, HAVE FOUND SOME ALLIES AMONG CLERICS SUCH AS AYATOLLAHS NURI AND SHARI'AT-MADARI WHO SHARE THE VIEW THAT SUCH AN INSTITUTION, IF NOT PROPERLY DEFINED, COULD LEAD TO A DICTATORSHIP. ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING RECENT DEVELOPMENTS HAS BEEN THE ENTRANCE OF AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI'S SON, HOJJAT AL-ISLAM AHMAD KHOMEINI, INTO THE DEBATE ON THIS SUBJECT. IN THESE DEBATES, THE YOUNG KHOMEINI HAS TAKEN A POSITION WHICH HAS MUCH IN COMMON WITH THE MODERATE VIEW THAT VELAYAT-E-FAQIH, AS DEFINED BY THE CONSTITUTION, CONTAINS SOME DANGEROUS AMBIGUITIES. EMBASSY WILL DISCUSS THIS QUESTION IN MORE DETAIL IN SEPARATE MESSAGE.

8. IN PART, RECENT OUTSPOKENNESS OF THE MODERATES CAN BE ATTRIBUTED TO DISILLUSION WITH SOME ASPECTS OF THE REVOLUTION--ESPECIALLY TRENDS TOWARD AUTHORITARIAN, CLERICAL RULE. THE MODERATES HAVE ALSO TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S OBVIOUS MISHANDLING OF CERTAIN ISSUES TO ATTRACT ALLIES BEYOND THE NORMALLY MINISCULE CONSTITUENCY OF GROUPS SUCH AS THE RADICAL MOVEMENT, THE IRAN PARTY,AND THE NATIONAL FRONT. FOR EXAMPLE, THE OBVIOUS FAILURE OF A MILITARY POLICY IN KURDESTAN HAS BROUGHT CALLS FOR RECONCILIATION, EVEN BY FIGURES WITHIN THE REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS. A COLUMNIST IN THE NORMALLY CONSERVATIVE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE TEHRAN TIMES HAS URGED THE WITHDRAWAL OF NON-KURDISH GUARDS FROM THE REGION; THE TUDEH PARTY PAPER MARDOM, STUNG BY ACCUSATIONS OF SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN KURDESTAN, HAS CALLED FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. ONLY THE RIGHT-WING ISLAMIC REPUBLICAN PARTY, THROUGH ITS ORGAN JOMHURI-YE-ISLAMI, HAS CONTINUED TO REFER TO THE KURDISH INSURGENTS AS "AMERICAN MERCENARIES". HOWEVER, THE IRP HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY ISOLATED IN ITS POSITION.

9. THE GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO ENSURE PERSONAL SECURITY, ITS CRUDE ATTEMPTS AT CENSORSHIP, AND SCANDALS INVOLVING THE REVOLUTIONARY COURT SYSTEM--LARGE-SCALE BRIBERY AND THEFT INVOLVING NO LESS A FIGURE THAN FORMER TEHRAN PERSECUTOR AYATOLLAH AZARI-QOMI HIMSELF--HAS ALSO WIDENED THE APPEAL OF THE MODERATE MESSAGE. THE PAPER AZADI OF OCTOBER 18 PRINTED A BITTER ATTACK ON THE REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE SYSTEM ACCUSING IT OF IGNORING THEFTS BY ILYAVI, FORMER ASSISTANT TO PROSECUTOR-GENERAL KADAVI, WHILE SENDING PROSTITUTES AND SMALL-TIME DRUG SMUGGLERS TO THE FIRING SQUAD. THE RECENT ATTACK ON TWO JOURNALISTS AT THE COUNCIL OF EXPERTS BUILDING LED THE ULTRA-ESTABLISHMENT PAPERETTELAAT OF OCTOBER 22 TO WRITE A STRONG FRONT-PAGE EDITORIAL ENTITLED "LET US NOT REPEAT MISTAKES"
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U.S. Government Printing Office: 1976—204 830

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POINTING OUT THAT THE PEOPLE OF QOM AND TABRIZ REBELLED IN THE SHAH'S TIME BECAUSE FOR DECADES THEY HAD BEEN DENIED THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES.

10. WHAT DOES ALL OF THIS ADD UP TO? MOST IMPORTANT, THE MODERATES OF THE IRAN PARTY, THE NATIONAL FRONT, AND OTHER GROUPS ARE ONCE AGAIN FINDING THEIR VOICE AND BEGINNING TO SPEAK OUT. IN DOING SO, THEY WILL HAVE TO OVERCOME SEVERAL MAJOR OBSTACLES:

- A) THE MEDIA REMAIN FOR THE MOST PART IN THE HANDS OF THEIR OPPONENTS. JOMHURI-YE-ISLAMI BECOMES MORE RABID BY THE DAY, AND THE OTHER MAJOR PAPERS ARE EXTREMELY CAUTIOUS. THE RADIO AND THE TELEVISION, UNDER QOTBZADEH'S OPPORTUNISTIC AND UNENLIGHTENED GUIDANCE, RARELY DEVIATES FROM ITS DAILY MENU OF PSEUDO-RELIGIOUS DRIVEL INTERSPERSED WITH PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARY DRIVEL.
- B) ALL INTELLECTUALS HAVE BEEN TAINTED BY KHOMEINI'S DENUNCIATIONS. HIS FAMOUS AUGUST DECLARATION THAT "WE DO NOT WANT INTELLECTUALS" IS STILL REMEMBERED. HIS DIATRIBES AGAINST WESTERN DECADENCE HAVE MADE ALL WESTERN MANIFESTATIONS, INCLUDING NECKTIES, SUSPECT IN HIS FOLLOWERS' EYES.

11. THESE MODERATE GROUPS STILL LEAD A PRECARIOUS EXISTENCE ON THE FRINGES OF IRANIAN POLITICAL LIFE. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THEY ARE LEFT ALONE TO HOLD THEIR MEETINGS AND PUBLISH THEIR NEWSPAPERS BECAUSE THEY ARE CONSIDERED IRRELEVANT TO THE POLITICAL PROCESS. HOWEVER, IN HIS MOST RECENT SPEECHES, KHOMEINI HAS TAKEN NOTE OF THEM AND HAS CRITICIZED THEM HARSHLY FOR THEIR ATTACKS ON VELAYAT-E-FAQIH AND ON THE CLERGY. IN A SPEECH TO TEHRAN RELIGIOUS LEADERS ON OCTOBER 20, KHOMEINI REFERRED DIRECTLY TO THE MPRP MEETING, SAYING, "RECENTLY, IN ONE OF THEIR MEETINGS, ONE OF THESE MISGUIDED ONES, WHO KNOWS NOTHING ABOUT ISLAM, SUGGESTED THAT THE COUNCIL OF EXPERTS SHOULD BE DISSOLVED. AND THE REST CHEERED... YOU, WHO DID NOT EVEN PARTICIPATE IN THE VOTING (FOR THE COUNCIL) HAVE NO RIGHT TO SAY THIS...IT WAS THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS WHO GAVE YOU (OPPONENTS OF VELAYAT-E-FAQIH) THE FREEDOM TO SAY WHATEVER YOU WANT TO SAY. YOU WERE IN HIDING WHEN THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS WERE STRUGGLING AGAINST THE SHAH AND HIS FATHER. NOW YOU WANT TO DISSOLVE THE ASSEMBLY?...YOU DO NOT HAVE THE POWER TO DO SO. I WILL SLAP YOU IN THE MOUTH. STOP THIS AND JOIN THE RANKS OF ISLAM AND LET THIS COUNTRY PUT ITSELF IN ORDER."

12. KHOMEINI'S ATTACKS ON THIS GROUP ARE STILL ONLY WORDS AND ARE UNLIKELY TO TAKE THE FORM OF ALL-OUT REPRESSION INVOLVING THE CLOSING OF NEWSPAPERS, THE BANNING OF MEETINGS, AND THE ARREST OF LEADERSHIP. MANY OF THESE GROUPS AND THEIR LEADERS HAVE DISTINGUISHED RECORDS OF OPPOSITION TO THE MONARCHY--RECORDS WHICH ARE DIFFICULT TO IGNORE. HOWEVER, THE HARD-LINE CLERGY AND ITS ALLIES HAVE BEEN ISOLATINGAND ATTACKING INDIVIDUAL TARGETS FROM AMONG THE MODERATES SUCH AS YAZDI, MATINDAFTARI, AND FORUHAR.

13. IF THE AUTHORITIES CONTINUE TO MISHANDLE SUCH MATTERS

AS ARAB-IRANIAN RELATIONS, PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS, AND REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE, THE MESSAGE OF THESE MODERATE GROUPS COULD ATTRACT A WIDER FOLLOWING. ALTHOUGH THEY ARE UNLIKELY TO OFFER A DIRECT CHALLENGE TO AYATOLLAH CONFIDL

HIS POSITIONS ON QUESTIONS SUCH AS THOSE NOTED ABOVE. PERHAPS THEY COULD FORCE SOME CONCESSION TO THOSE WHO DO NOT SHARE THE IMAM'S VISION OF AN IRAN RULED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TEACHINGS OF THAT SPECIALIZED VIEW OF ISLAM HELD BY ONE SECTOR OF A MINORITY SECT OF THAT
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RELIGION.

14. IN THE LONGER TERM, IF THESE GROUPS CAN PRESERVE SOME COHERENCE THEY MAY PRESENT AN ALTERNATIVE TO A CLERICAL MONOPOLY OF POWER IN POST-KHOMEINI IRAN. AT THAT TIME THEIR REVOLUTIONARY CREDENTIALS MAY BECOME VERY IMPORTANT; BUT FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, THIS GROUP WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE ON THE PERIPHERY OF IRANIAN POLITICS—ARTICULATE, INTERESTING, BUT WIELDING LITTLE REAL POWER. LAINGEN
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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 11319 4/4

the 10th weekly meeting of
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF THE MOSLEM PEOPLE OF IRAN
held on October 26,1979 at
the party's Tehran headquarters
prepared by Alireza JAHAN-SHAHI
on October 28,1979

The weekly meeting, despite the cold weather, attracted an encouraging number of people and the atmosphere was indeed a good one as far as the RPMPI is concerned.

There were a number of leading politicians present at this meeting, including Dr. Saeed Fatemi, leader of Iran Emruz Political Group and Dr. Ali Rasekh Afshar from the National Front.

Unlike the meetings of the previous weeks, this meeting was held under the close attention of armed pasdarans who had been sent to Tehran from Tabriz and Qom. It must be remembered that Azarbaijan province in general and Tabriz in particular are the strongholds of the RPMPI. One party official said privately that following the comments made by Imam Khomeini during the past week some RPMPI officials were afraid that Moslem zealots would attack the weekly meeting. The pasdars from Qom who belonged to the group that guards Ayatollah Shariatmadari, the RPMPI's spiritual leader.

Dr. Saeed Fatemi was one of the speakers at the meeting and he focused his comments on Dr. Mohammad Mosadegh and his struggle to nationalize Iran's oil industry two decades ago. "Why are you selling off our national asset, oil, at $20 par barrels while you are buying medicine at $200 per kilo [illegible] from the United States ?" He asked the government.

He attributed the spiralling prices " which are going up by the hour" to the present policy of not using specialized people in positions where they could be of use.

The party's secretary-general, Dr. Ahmad Alizadeh talked about the situation in Kurdistan and said political solution was the only way out of the present deadlock in this part of Iran. "There are four million kurds in Iran and yet there is not even one Kurd present in the Assembly of Experts," he added.

"I was in Qom last week meeting with Ayatollah Shariatmadari and I requested him to come to Tehran and deal with the Kurdish issue. He said if he was given the authority, he could solve the problem from Qom."

Then a member of audience claiming to be a Kurd talked to the people present and said he was certain that the people in Kurdistan, "who are being called Imperialists and Zionists" did not even know what these words meant. "I was present in Banah when 22 people were hauled in front of the Islamic court and after an investigation of only 11 minutes and 20 seconds they were shot by the firing squad," he said.

Following this, another member of the audience claiming to be a member of the Council of Logistics refuted the comments of the Kurdish speaker and called him a liar. This caused the meeting to break up into two factions: one against the logistics man continueing his speech and the others wanting him to go on. Because of the unrest, Dr. Alizadeh announced the end of the meeting, but then, on the request of the audience the meeting was once again convened with Dr. Ali Rasekh Afshar from the National Front taking the podium.

Dr. Rasekh Afshar said that 25 years of Mohammad reza shahi system had made small mohammad rezas out of every Iranian. "We all think that we are right and that others should not have the right to speak their opinions. "I ask you all to stand up and cheer for the name of Iran and the flag of Iran," he said and the people present abided wholeheartedly.

"Our objective is not to weaken the religious leaders in Iran, what we want them to do is to treat us not like dead people. If they call us alive then the revolution will remain alive; all we ask them to do is to listen to us," he said.

The next speaker was Rasul Mehraban who had been in Mashad recently where his program of lecture at mashad offices of the National Front had been interrupted. He referred to the presence of the armed pasdars at the meeting and asked "don't we reached a stage of political maturity where we can hold political meetings without the need for armed protection ?"

"One of the things that could weaken the leadership is the monopolistic tendencies; if they stop speeches from being delivered and lectures from being given, they in fact have weakened the leadership of our revolution," he said.

Following him, another member of the audience who claimed to a pilot with the Iranian airforce talked about his experiences in Kurdistan and reported what the Kurdish speaker had said earlier in the meeting. "Our Kurdish friend did not even report one-fourth of the events in that region, and I have written a book about the horrors I saw being committed in Kurdistan and it will soon be published," he said.

With the approach of nightfall and the cold increasing, the audience started to thin round the edges and after the pilot, the meeting was ended with the party officials asking the people to invite their friends to next week's meeting.

Alireza jahan-shahi
October 28,1979
Iran.